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ABSTRACT

The increased enrollment and recruitment of black pupils in urban nonpublic schools prompted this study, which uses an ethnographic approach to investigate the family/school relations of black children and their parents. It is the first intensive study of black children in ecologically diverse settings. The schools, all located in Chicago, Illinois, include two private elite, one independent alternative, and one Roman Catholic. Two primary research questions are addressed: (1) why do black parents send their children to urban private elementary schools, and (2) what are the experiences of the children in these schools? After an introduction, the report covers issues relevant to the study which have been addressed in two bodies of scholarly literature: (1) educational literature that tries to account for school successes and failures of Afro-American children, and (2) educational literature that addresses family decisions and school choice within the context of American society. In later chapters, the report discusses in detail the design of the study and gives findings and summaries. Due to the extensive scope of the research, findings are presented and summarized by area of inquiry, with no explicit attempt to link these findings to the overall aims and purposes of the study. A final chapter offers policy recommendations, and discusses research implications for black families, private schools, and family school relations. A 17-page list of references; a coding manual for parental education goals; a paper on conducting fieldwork in multiracial, multiethnic, urban private schools; a field manual for school observations; and the questionnaires used for parent, administrator, school, and parent leader interviews are appended. (LHW)

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# Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools

Diana T. Slaughter and Barbara L. Schneider

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## Preface and Acknowledgments

This report is the product of the cooperation and contributions of many people whom we gratefully acknowledge. Because this study demanded some unusual research efforts and team strategies we have decided to describe in detail the participation of all individuals involved.

First, we would like to thank the principals of the four schools for allowing us to learn about their school cultures. These school administrators permitted us to conduct long interviews, assisted us in collecting parent and teacher interview data and achievement and self concept data on the children, and facilitated our entrance and continued presence at their schools for over eighteen months. We also thank the teachers and the children who let us in their classrooms and those teachers who permitted us to interview them. We thank the parents, and parent and religious leaders who also were willing to be interviewed. We thank the school advisory committees for their cooperation in approving the conduct of this study. For purposes of confidentiality, identification of schools, school personnel, parents, and children has been removed throughout the report.

To our staff, we owe many thanks. We would like to acknowledge the invaluable contributions of our two ethnographers, Dr. Yongsook Lee and Dr. Rachel Washington Lindsey, without whom chapters eleven and twelve of this report could not have been written. They provided us with rich and comprehensive transcripts of St. August and Oak Lawn. We also would like to thank several graduate students, Joanne Gold, Deborah Johnson, and Karen Ritts who assisted us by critiquing parental goal categories.

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This final report remains however, the work of the two principal investigators, Dr. Diana T. Slaughter and Dr. Barbara L. Schneider. It is a collaborative effort. Each of us contributed to writing chapters, although one of us had the primary responsiblity for each one. In Volume I, Dr. Slaughter wrote chapters, 1, 2, 7, 8, 11, and 13; Dr. Schneider wrote chapters 3, 5, and 12. Chapters 4, 6, 9, and 10 were written jointly.

Specifically regarding chapter 4, Dr. Schneider wrote pp. 68-69. Regarding chapter 6, Dr. Slaughter wrote pp. 108-122, 142-146, and 148. Dr. Schneider wrote pp. 124-142, and 147. Regarding chapter 9, Dr. Slaughter wrote pp. 236-268, 353-387. Dr. Schneider wrote pp. 269-352. Regarding chapter 10, Dr. Schneider wrote 389-392. Dr. Slaughter wrote pp. 393-411. In chapter 13 Dr. Schneider wrote the section, Implications for the Private School Communities. Typically, one of us read the other's chapter and made critical comments throughout the production of the entire report.

In Volume II, Appendices A, C, and D, were developed jointly. Appendix B was written by Dr. Slaughter. Appendix E was developed by Robyn Kramer under the supervision of Dr. Schneider. In Appendix A, six parental goal categories are identified. Each co-principal investigator was responsible for developing the written definitions and selection criteria for three of them. Approximately 50 percent of Appendix C was written by each co-principal investigator. In Appendix D, the parent interview, as well as the instructions to parents was written by Dr. Slaughter. The administrator, admissions, and teacher interviews were written by Dr. Schneider. The parent leader interview was written by Dr. Slaughter and Dr. Schneider.

In conclusion, we would like to thank Dr. Gail MacColl our project officer at the National Institute of Education. The University Research Committee of Northwestern University gave additional financial support for report production. Many faculty and staff at Northwestern University helped us. We thank you all.

DTS BLS

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This study uses an ethnographic approach to investigate the family school relations of black children and their parents. The impetus for the study came from observations of two related educational trends. First, in increasing numbers black families are enrolling their children in urban nonpublic schools. The percentages of black children enrolled in all types of private schools, sectarian and nonsectarian, have nearly doubled in ten years. Second, though under no legal mandate to desegregate, many urban private schools have begun to systematically recruit black pupils. Even where recruitment is not systematic, urban private schools openly acknowledge accepting greater numbers of black pupils than in previous years. The trends provide an excellent opportunity for careful study of family school relations because both families and schools could reasonably be expected to be very self-conscious of their educational goals.

Why are the black parents choosing this educational option? What are their educational goals for their children? What are they implicitly or explicitly prepared to sacrifice to achieve these goals? And what of the admitting schools? What are their educational philosophies? How are the philosophies realized in the lives of the black pupils who matriculate in these schools? What are the school cultures into which these children are socialized? Finally, what are the educational outcomes for these pupils, particularly in the areas of school achievement and self concept development? The present study primarily addresses two research questions: First, why do black parents send their children to urban private elementary schools, and second, what are the experiences of the children in these schools?

This approach to study of these questions combined hypothesis-testing with deliberate exploration. Data collection techniques included the use of open-ended and informal interviews, narrative observations of student life in participating schools, and tests and inventories administered by teachers to children. Data were obtained from school records and publications. The aim was to achieve a holistic understanding of the socialization contexts in which the children were studying and learning, and therefore, the specific contribution of family school relations to the children's schooling experiences.

Several assumptions were made. First, it was assumed that families would differ in their reported educational goals, despite their common willingness and ability to make educational expenditures for their children. Second, it was assumed that as school philosophies differed, so too would the educational experiences of the children. Third, it was assumed that the black parents could have different educational goals, even from a subset of nonblack parents whose children had already been friendly to some of their black school peers. Finally, it was assumed that if a holistic ethnographic approach were used to study these families and schools, the results could contribute significantly to the field of education in two specific ways: first, by helping to establish criteria for excellence in black education, and second, by improving substantially upon present understanding of how the in-school lives of middle school-age children are impacted by behavioral patterns reflective of consensus and dissent between families and schools.

## Black Student Enrollment in Private Elementary Schools

Recent analyses by the National Center for Education Statistics (1981) indicate that 92.7% of all black students (about 3,344,616) attend public schools. The remaining 7.3% attend private schools. Most students attend religiously affiliated schools (6.1%), but about 1.2% attend unaffiliated private schools. The presence of these black students in private school settings has impacted enrollment rates and patterns in private schools over the decade 1970-1980.

Enrollments in private schools across the nation essentially remained constant or declined between 1970-1980,[1] as did those of public schools. For example, K-8 enrollment in nonpublic schools went from 4,100,000 in 1970 to 3,600,000 in 1978, a number projected for 1980 (NCES, 1980). Data from the U.S. Department of Commerce reveal that private elementary school enrollment, as a percentage of total elementary school enrollment, went from 15.4% in 1967 to 12.7% in 1977 (NCES, 1979, p. 54). Even in central city areas, the percentage declined from 24.3 to 22.3 in that decade. However, during this same period, black private elementary school enrollment increased as a percentage of the total from 3.7 to 5.5%. Increases ranged from 1.8% in central metropolitan cities (6.1 - 7.9%) to that of 4.4% (1.4 - 5.4%) outside the central cities. In absolute numbers, black enrollment in private schools is greatest in the central cities, estimated at 214,000 in 1977, and 263,384 in 1979.

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[1] Population surges are reported after 1980 ("U.S., Revising Count," 1984).

Enrollment in private schools is most prevalent in the Northeast and North Central regions of the United States (NCES, 1981). However, the numbers of private schools are expanding most rapidly in the urban areas of the Southeast and Southwest (Erickson, 1978) while the Midwestern region has been showing enrollment declines. But for the newer presence of minority students, many schools would now have fewer absolute numbers of students, by comparison to previous years. For example, in Chicago area Catholic schools black elementary school students increased from 21,813 to 23,223 in absolute numbers, but the increase reflects an increment of about 10.9% relative to black representation in the population as a whole. Similar projections were made by principals and headmasters of small, private elite schools to one of us (Private Schools Report, 1981), and by the coordinator of Chicago's Alternative Schools Network to the other (Wuest, personal communication, December, 1981). In a later chapter (chapter 5), we report data that confirm these informal projections.

Many assume that private school students come from higher income backgrounds than do public school students, and that these schools enroll proportionately fewer numbers of minority students (Kraushaar, 1972). There is evidence that there is an underrepresentation of the very poor and an overrepresentation of the very wealthy in private schools in California. Doyle (1982) maintains these differences are smaller than previous assumptions suggest. The focus on comparisons between public and private schools, however, has obscured important incremental changes within private school populations over the past ten years. Private schools in metropolitan areas are now serving children from all income categories and racial/ethnic backgrounds. Recent findings at the secondary school level, for example, indicate that the growth in private education is occurring among middle income families, both black and white (Coleman, Hoffer, & Kilgore, 1981).

Organizations such as A Better Chance (ABC), and the Black Student Fund have been established to facilitate the recruitment, enrollment, and adjustment of black students in private schools. Founded in 1963, ABC has a long-standing, respected program for recruiting and placing academically talented black youths in private schools where ABC believes they are likely to have successful academic careers. Similarly, the Black Student Fund, founded in 1964, advocates for interests of black children and parents in 65 private schools in the eastern region of these United States. Though no comparable organization as the Fund exists in the midwestern region where this research was conducted, contacts with admissions officers and administrators of the two elite schools left little doubt as to their concerns for effective minority recruitment and retention. In the two other private schools in the sample, these concerns were attenuated.

Researchers have offered reasons for why families generally enroll their children in private schools. The authors (e.g., Abramowitz & Stackhouse, 1981; Coleman et al., 1981; Guthrie & Zusman, 1981) speculate that families are seeking:

1. a higher level of academic achievement for the child;
2. greater control and authority of the family in the child's education; and

3. greater value congruence between themselves and the school.

We thought there would be some additional reasons for why black parents are sending their children to desegregated private schools. They include:

4. familial disaffection with public schools in urban neighborhoods in which the families reside;
5. the new availability of the necessary familial economic resources;
6. the schools' response to the potentially available student population, given changes in the racial and ethnic composition of cities; and
7. the "zeitgeist" of families and schools since 1954 relative to the desirability of a desegregated educational experience for all children.

Each of the above reasons became a focal point of part of this study. Data were obtained on the children's academic achievements. Parents were queried about their educational goals, and attention given to how often they emphasized family authority and control in the child's education, as well as the relative fit of their goals with those of the four study schools. Parents were asked about their perceptions of public schools in their communities and neighborhoods, their expenditures for private schooling, in view of their total family income, and their views of student cultural and social diversity within the school. Administrators and admissions officers were queried about their student recruitment pool, criteria and standards for admission and retention, as well as the overall character of the schools' academic programs. In the school-based interviews with administrators and teachers, specific attention was given to their perceptions of black students. Therefore, the findings are significant for educational policy. However, studying the interrelationships between family and school goals and their impact on students' lives has scientific import.

## Models for Studying Family School Relations

Existing models differ with respect to how relationships between students, families, and schools are defined. The criteria include: (a) the degree of emphasis upon the community or neighborhood for understanding life in school, (b) the amount of specific attention to the family as part of a community or neighborhood and its effect on school relations, (c) the degree of focus upon the child's familial home environment, as contrasted with (d) primary attention to pupil characteristics obviously derived from family background for explaining student performance in schools. Throughout the history of educational research in this area, studies have varied along these dimensions. Educational studies of black children largely began with a focus on pupil characteristics.

## Focus on Pupil Characteristics

Researchers initially focused on the contribution of pupil characteristics associated with family background to student learning and achievement. Allison Davis (1948) and his colleagues, for example, stressed the contribution of social class background. Researchers such as Leacock (1969), Rist (1973), and Schofield (1982) have stressed the contribution of race and status distinctions within race to students' learning experiences in schools. Some researchers who take more macro-societal perspectives (e.g., Coleman, 1966) argue that family background has its greatest effect upon minority education in the kinds of persons the children become. Coleman (1966) has argued that the black student's sense of personal efficacy determines relative educational success. What these otherwise highly diverse studies hold in common for the issues discussed here is that the families' role in the educational process is largely thought to be encapsulated in pupil characteristics which are linked to social status background.

## Focus on Home Environment

Other researchers have stressed identification and description of those attributes and processes within the home environment which influence children's learning and achievement. Both Bloom (1980) and Hess and Shipman (1965), for example, have stressed that social class is only a proxy variable to home environmental processes indicative of (a) the educational climate of the home, and (b) the specific interactions of parents and children that are educationally relevant. The design of many studies in this area, including several of our own (e.g., Slaughter, 1969, 1977, 1983), gives specific attention to parenting processes linked to educationally relevant outcomes in children. What these studies share is (a) little attention to children's families within the context of an identifiable community, and (b) little attention to the in-school experiences of the children.

### Focus on Neighborhood and Community

A third important emerging cluster of studies has emphasized community-school relations, frequently focusing on either class (e.g., Popkewitz, 1982) or race (e.g., Ogbu, 1974) as broad stratifying dimensions affecting what occurs inside schools. Though highly diverse, these studies share a focus on how sociocultural forces outside of schools affect in-school social organization and the experiences, behaviors, and attitudes of students. The researchers implicitly assume that childhood socialization in the family has considerable significance for how students from differing social backgrounds perceive schooling and how they will be perceived by faculty. Therefore, in-school processes are not solely determined by pupil characteristics.

Rather, schools also respond to the dynamics of the communities in which they reside and, of course, communities are composed of families.

### Focus on the Family and the School

Finally, there is a tradition of writing in which few actual studies have been conducted. These authors emphasize that schooling has a definite predictable effect on children, particularly when family and school goals are highly similar. Minuchin, Biber, Sharpiro, and Zimiles (1969) found shared values between middle class white children's families and the four schools attended by their children. Two schools were classified as more traditional, and two more modern or progressive. Minuchin et al. (1969) argued that the schools impacted both children and parents (three schools were public, one was private). However, critics argued that the parents could well have initially chosen the respective schools to coincide with their own educational values.

In this same tradition, some authors have emphasized the potential discontinuities between the goals of some families and the schools attended by their children (e.g., Getzels, 1969; Slaughter, 1977; Lightfoot, 1978). Researchers have contrasted the home learning environments of lower income black children to the educational environments of traditional schools and pointed to discontinuities

(Gouldner, 1978; Brice-Heath, 1982). Although the goals of the two institutions may be highly similar, the exigencies associated with everyday lifestyles result in a discontinuity between what is learned in home and community, and what is to be learned in school.

## Implications for the Present Study

However, after reviewing these studies of black children it became apparent that in nearly all of them social class and race had been confounded. Further, the schools attended by the children were, given their own academic reputations, often "at risk" themselves. It was virtually impossible to separate the effects of poor schooling, from the social status backgrounds of the attending black children. Therefore, few conclusions could be drawn about the relationship between the educational goals of members of the black community, their efforts to realize these goals, and the schooling experiences and performances of their children. Some of these effects were disentangled by selecting a sample of schools that consisted of middle-class black families whose social backgrounds could range from lower to upper middle class, and whose current family incomes would likely range from the lower-middle to upper-middle income brackets. Schools were chosen that already had a "reputation" for academic excellence.

Furthermore, an examination of black educational history indicates that black parents who send their children to urban private desegregated schools have chosen a different educational experience from other parents in the black community whose children historically attended either public or private (racially non-mixed) schools (Bullock, 1967; Franklin & Anderson, 1978; Ravitch, 1983). Therefore, at this historic juncture in the black community, the majority of these parents have broken tradition and chosen an educational context for their children that in all probability they themselves have not experienced.

In addition, private schools who choose to voluntarily desegregate are currently under no legal mandate, nor is their pupil composition typical of the majority of such schools in this nation. These schools have also begun to create a new educational tradition (Baird, 1977; Speede-Franklin, 1983).

It can be assumed that when persons within key social institutions behave differently from previous persons similar to themselves, the self-consciously induced discontinuity provides a unique opportunity to study the meaning of the collective goals of these institutions to them. Because these families and these schools are different from highly significant reference groups, the situation offered the possibility of studying relationships between the educational goals of families and schools in contemporary urban America.

It was assumed that there was enough diversity within the middle class black community to identify a range of preferred educational experiences. These experiences configurate differently around the historical emphasis of the total black community upon a set of core beliefs in the value of education and academic excellence, the desire for inclusion in mainstream American culture, and the equally strong desire for maintenance of social and cultural integrity. The intent of this study was to examine how these core beliefs are realized for different families in the high quality private schools attended by their children. Because life involves negotiation and compromise, particular attention was directed at the compromises parents made in exchange for receipt of what they believe to be a quality education for their children.

Furthermore, in contrast to many other studies of minority family-school relations, this study examines black family-school relations in the context of a broadened concept of "school culture." This culture is articulated through the educational goals of the black and non-black families, teachers, parent leaders, administrators, and the experiences of the black children in the schools.

This study was specifically designed to identify and examine this broadened concept of school culture for black families. To accomplish this, the cooperation of four very different schools in Chicago was deliberately obtained. Each school has a reputation for academic excellence. Two are established elite private schools located at opposite ends of the city. The third began as an independent pre-school, and has continued as an alternative private school which extends through grade 8. The fourth is a sectarian school (Catholic) located for many years in a neighborhood that has undergone several racial and ethnic transitions. All but the sectarian school serve middle to upper income student populations. The sectarian school serves a lower middle income population.

The percentages of black students in these schools range from a low of 6% to a high of 50%. Percentages of black students enrolled in the two private elite schools are, respectively, 6 and 28. The black population of the Catholic school in the sample is about 35%, while it is 50% at the Alternative independent school.

Parents (131), administrators (4), teachers (27), admissions officers (3), and designated (by administrators) parent leaders (9) were interviewed at each school. Non-black parents whose children have been observed by teachers to be friendly to the black children were also included among those parents interviewed. In addition, during the '83-'84 academic year a total of 135 school observations days were conducted across the four schools, primarily in grades 5-8. Each observation day averaged four hours. Achievement and self-concept data were also collected from fifth to eighth graders at the end of the 1983-84 academic year.

There are two bodies of scholarly literature directly relevant to the present study (a) educational literature which intends to account for the school successes and failures, usually failures, of African American children, and (b) educational literature which addresses family decisions and school choice within the context of American society. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 of this report discuss these issues in some detail. For readers who prefer to concentrate on this study, chapters 4-6 present a more detailed discussion of the design of the study; subsequent chapters present findings and summaries. The scope of this study is quite extensive. Hence, findings are presented and summarized in chapters 7-12 by area of inquiry, with no explicit attempt to link these findings to the overall aims and purposes of the research as discussed in chapters 1-4. These linkages are established in the executive summary and interpretations presented in chapter 13. Some readers may prefer to briefly review chapter 13 prior to examining the details of chapters 7-12.

# Chapter 2

## Race and Class in American Culture

Even in the nation's infancy, leaders of the United States of America realized that education of its citizenry would be the foundation for a truly prosperous, democratic state (Woodring, 1975). Initially, the goal of education was to produce a literate populace. Later, this goal was supplemented and superseded by the goal of equal educational opportunity for all individual citizens. Critics of American schooling have primarily addressed whether (a) by contemporary standards, pupils are achieving literacy, and (b) each pupil has an equitable chance to acquire the best available education. More recently, because of the special historical relationship of American racial and ethnic minorities of non-European origins to the society, some critics (e.g., Franklin, 1978; Cheng, 1979) have questioned whether the individual interests of minority pupils should prevail over the collective interests of their racial and ethnic groups. Perhaps few minority groups have been as vulnerable to the concerns of critics as have black Americans. In an historically acknowledged racial and class-stratified society (de Tocqueville, 1835; Warner, Havighurst, & Loeb, 1944), collectively black Americans belong to the least powerful and prestigious racial group, and generally, the poorer classes. Because of the goals of American education, no ethnographic study of the educational experiences of black children and their families can fail to consider the impact of race and class upon their lives in schools.

## Myrdal and Racial Segregation in American Schools

Myrdal (1944) pointed to the essential dilemma of modern American democracy: the Negro problem. The strong American value for support of individual initiative and success in the society was contradicted by racial and class barriers to opportunity. At the time of his writing, these barriers were often legally constituted. For example, the majority black population resided in the south where schools were racially segregated. Myrdal thought it hopeful that these barriers were rationalized within the context of the American democratic creed: Schools were separate, but they were equal, that is they provided the opportunity for equal access to the good life desired for and by all Americans. However, he argued persuasively on the basis of his studies that the southern schools were both separate and unequal. The result was that disproportionate numbers of black Americans were poor, and experienced caste-like restrictions as far as opportunities for economic and social mobility. Myrdal observed that as far as whites were concerned segregation was not motivated by financial reasons, given the considerable expense associated with maintaining a dual educational system, but as a precaution against social equality between the races.

Myrdal discussed debates within the black community about the aims of education, specifically the early debate between Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. DuBois as to the merits of industrial-vocational versus classical training. He concluded that: "By and large, in spite of all the talk about it, no effective industrial training was ever given the Negroes in the southern public schools." (p. 899). In his view, vocational versus liberal education for blacks was not the real issue; the real issue was whether blacks should have greater or less education as practiced in the American tradition. In a culture permeated by traditional democratic values, values which stress that persons can be changed and transformed by education, that individual education should have pragmatic, beneficial meaning for the life of the total society, and that societies change and can be changed by persons for the better, education of blacks in this tradition could only contribute to their increased social dissatisfaction and eventual protest. Myrdal concluded that:

> Concerning the content of teaching...Negroes are also divided. On the one hand, they are inclined to feel that the northern system, wherein standardized testing is given students independent of whether they are white or Negro, is the only right thing...(But) they feel...

> to make Negroes better prepared to fight for their rights...education...should be used as a tool of concerted action to gain the equal status...many...Negro leaders desire that Negro students should get special training in Negro problems. (p. 901)

Myrdal faithfully described black attitudes toward black education but he chose not to emphasize them in his policy recommendations, possibly because he had great confidence in the power of any form of democratic education to ultimately induce desired personal and societal changes. He focused upon the then vast socioeconomic inequities in education experienced in particular by the southern black students in comparison with southern white students. For example, academic standards for blacks were much lower. Blacks were significantly more likely to be truant from school without official followup, and to drop out of school. Teachers of black students were typically far more inadequately trained and prepared, and less experienced. Per capita expenditures for black pupils relative to school facilities, equipment, books, and so on were much lower. Curriculum stressed character building (e.g., courtesy, humility, self-control and satisfaction with present life style and status), rather than knowledge and understanding of the nation's constitutional documents and the structure of government.

Myrdal summarized: "The whole southern Negro educational structure is in a pathological state. Lack of support, low standards, and extreme dependence on the whites make Negro education inadequate to meet the aims of citizenship, character or vocational preparation. While illiteracy is being eliminated, this is only in a formal sense-since children who are taught to read and write and do arithmetic seldom make use of these abilities." (p. 951).
Ten years later, in 1954, the Brown versus Brown decision supported Myrdal's conclusions: Within a democratic American society, schools could not be simultaneously racially segregated and equal (Ravitch, 1983).

## Racial Segregation in Northern Schools: The Example of Chicago, Illinois

After Reconstruction (1876), the black population increasingly migrated into urban areas and northward (Slaughter & McWorter, 1985). The demand for industrial labor created by World War II (ongoing at the time of Myrdal's publication) further accelerated this trend until, by 1950, the majority of blacks lived in urban areas. Northern urban black newcomers, who arrived in large numbers essentially a generation later than whites, generally experienced only a brief period of de jure school segregation, if any at all. However, many blacks resented the socioeconomic deprivations that seemed inevitably associated with northern de facto school segregation, a segregation caused by racially restrictive neighborhood housing policies. Chicago, the site of the present ethnographic study, is an excellent example.

Homel (1974) reports that blacks lived in Chicago (They constituted 1.9% of the total population.) when it was chartered as a city in 1837. This charter, as well as state of Illinois guidelines established in 1835 limited access to public education to white students. By 1851, racial restrictions to public education were removed by the city of Chicago and blacks could attend segregated public schools. Baron (1963) states that an ordinance passed in 1863 required black children to attend separate public schools from white children. During this period the state of Illinois contributed no funds to educate black children, and it was not until 1874 that Illinois officially admitted blacks to public education, about 49 years after the first free schools were authorized in the Illinois legislature.

According to Baron (1963) and Spear (1967), the Chicago black population increased greatly during World Wars I and II, particularly in specific neighborhood census tracts. The established school boundaries were drawn so as to contain black pupils within black schools, even if overcrowding and half-day school schedules resulted (Baron, 1963,

p. 18). Black students were denied administrative transfers to predominantly white, less-crowded schools, but white students were not. As for per capita pupil expenditures for black and white schools, by 1939 results almost similar to those obtained in southern schools were obtained for Chicago schools by organized community protestors. Despite the concern about overcrowded classrooms as a result of Board of Education de facto segregation policies, no substantive changes were made between 1939-1947. Between 1947-1953 some minimal redistricting was conducted by eliminating boundary "neutral" areas (i.e., areas where, in theory, black and white pupils could attend either of two schools, but where in practice blacks had been routinely routed to one school, and whites to the other). However, according to Baron (1963, p. 19) no reference to race was made in these newer policies of permitting free choice at the boundaries. Though similar plans were made for high schools, these were never implemented after 1953 when a new superintendent was hired.

In 1964 Hauser, then chairman of the Advisory Panel on Integration of the Public Schools of Chicago, stated: "I had hoped by the time that I appeared before this group (i.e., the 48th Convention of the American Federation of Teachers) that I could comment favorably on the actions taken by the board of education in the Chicago public schools. Unfortunately this is not possible...the Negro schools, despite their greater need, have teachers with less experience and less advanced training than white schools..." (Hauser, 1964, pp. 44-46). Hauser continued by pointing to the need to raise minimum academic standards for promotion, to introduce incentives to attract and retain the best teachers in the most vulnerable communities, and to utilize volunteer groups to support the instructional efforts of existing faculty. Hauser contended that the elimination of de facto segregation was a moral and legal imperative if the city of Chicago were to prosper and America continue to live up to its democratic creed, thus justifying its leadership of the free world.

Despite the many obvious advantages of northern urban life for most blacks, from 1837 through the mid-1960's the Chicagoan black community was undoubtedly resentful of the treatment experienced by it in relation to its "free" public schools. Even before 1960, protests were made and, in the past 20-25 years, these overt signs of disaffection escalated not only in Chicago, but nationwide (Pulliam, 1978; Ravitch, 1983). Schools are the focal point of the black community's struggle against overt American racial stratification not only because they symbolize the black experience relative to other important societal institutions (e.g., housing, employment), but because they directly minister to the future of that community: its children. The Chicagoan black community has never been content with its public schools. Furthermore, the original basis of the disaffection was racial segregation. The community's historic experience had been that racial segregation was intimately linked to educational inequities that it believed were eventually tranformed into restricted opportunities for occupational and social mobility. Dissatisfaction has never been simply because schools were racially segregated; rather, the relative social and economic deprivations associated with the racially isolated or segregated school environments were thought linked to the accumulating evidence of disproportunate educational failures among black children and youth.

Though definitions of educational quality vary greatly there is a consensus within the black community that black children, as a group, are not inherently intellectually inferior to nonblack children such that the former are singularly unable to learn in school but rather, that their educational environments are inadequate. However, "educational environment" can be construed to be the "family educational environment," the "school educational environment," or both. Within these environments, differing features or aspects can be stressed. On these points, the black community shares much in common with many contemporary educational researchers. Before considering some of these researches in more detail in Chapter 4 it is important to briefly highlight recent major issues that have emerged in relation to black education since the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Ravitch (1983) states:

> At the time it seemed conclusively settled that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 had at last removed from government the power to classify people by race or group identity and had at last empowered the federal government to protect its citizens against arbitrary discrimination in the exercise of their rights. This consensus reflected the political coalition that had gathered under black leadership to protest all forms of discrimination associated with one's group identity...But the apparent triumph of color blindness was ephemeral... (pp. 143-144)

## Developments Following the 1964 Civil Rights Act

Myrdal (1978) reflected upon black American progress since the massive 1944 study. In his view, the 1954 Brown decision met with little more than token compliance until the mass revolt of blacks in the south, beginning with the 1955-56 bus boycott in the city of Montgomery. The Supreme Court decision declaring segregation in buses unconstitutional: "...told the white south that the law of the land was definitely against it, and that from now on its laboriously constructed Jim Crow state legislation would become outlawed whenever it was challenged." (p. 78). Myrdal saw these developments as contributing to a significant unified mass movement among black people, a movement with "broad but attainable goals," that adhered to the "principle of nonviolence," that "...was firmly directed toward integration, to follow realization of the equal opportunities promised in the national purpose," and that insisted that it be "interracial" (p. 79). He accounted for why no similar northern mass movement developed, arguing that the south had greater cohesiveness among social classes within the black community, more overtly restrictive segregationist laws and normative policies and practices, less secularization, and so on. He pointed out that since 1964-65 a continuous wave of new legislation has served to reduce discrimination in the labor market, but that: "So far as the blacks are concerned, but even more generally, these new efforts are mainly of practical importance for the upper and middle classes of professional and business employees." (p. 88). Myrdal stated that blacks in the poorer areas of urban communities have spontaneously rioted and protested, but have largely not benefitted, by these recent reforms and social developments because minimum standards of living are not guaranteed to all citizens.

Importantly, reflecting upon the emergence of black nationalism as a mass ideology in the late 1960's Myrdal made the following observations:

> ...undoubtedly there has been a new awakening of a black nationalist spirit...In An American Dilemma I saw them as counterreactions to the rationalizations given by whites of their treatment of black Americans, and I am inclined to stick to this view. In a fully integrated American nation there would be little reason for black nationalism. In the existing situation black nationalism is, however, not only understandable but must to an extent be considered curative in nature...'black is beautiful' is a healthy reaction, and so is the resistance against giving up all cultural traits that have evolved from their special history. (Myrdal, 1978, pp. 85-86)

Unfortunately, Myrdal and others (e.g., Ravitch, 1983) now equate desegregation with integration. The absence of racial restrictions and persecution does not imply the presence of either (a) social equity in the form of respect for African American history and culture by either American blacks or whites, or (b) judicious allocation of political power and economic resources whereby this culture may be further developed and sustained. Despite the specific outcomes of societal desegregation, including school desegregation, the fundamental question is whether 30 million black Americans will be able to develop, sustain, and assert their cultural identity within what is essentially a pluralistic nation. Desegregation is a means to an end, and not an end of itself, a strategy and a tactic, not an end-goal. Blacks of both conservative and liberal political persuasions have addressed this issue, for example, both Sowell (1977) and Franklin (1978) have critiqued assumptions which establish school desegregation as a goal, rather than a strategy or tactic.

Sowell (1977) reminds us that between roughly 1870 to 1955 at least eight predominantly black high schools located in four southern cities (1 in Baltimore, 1 in Washington, D.C., 2 in Atlanta, 3 in New Orleans) and one northern city (Brooklyn) established clear track records for academic excellence. Three were private Catholic (St. Augustine, St. Paul of the Cross, Xavier Prep); two others began as essentially private schools (Douglas, Dunbar); and three functioned, by way of "benign neglect," as essentially private schools (Booker T. Washington, McDonough, P.S. 91 in Brooklyn) for many years. These schools appear to have shared: (a) an emphasis upon high expectations for school achievement by both parents and dedicated teachers; (b) high levels of community support; (c) continuity of school building leadership; and (d) an emphasis on traditional curriculum. While teachers demonstrated racial pride in their attitudes and behaviors toward students, the curriculum stressed the basic skills and Anglo-American cultural traditions. Sowell observes that student achievement levels in these and similar schools began to drop in the late 50's, and plummeted during the past 20 years of emphasis upon desegregation. He notes that these schools were not necessarily characterized by high tuitions, unlimited financial and physical resources, smaller classes, modern curriculum techniques and methods, racial desegregation, or explicit community or parental control.

Black educational historians (Franklin & Anderson, 1978; Bond, 1934; Bullock, 1967) have also documented the centrality of predominantly black schools in early black educational and occupational achievements. If for no other reason, many such schools produced notable alumni because segregated schooling was the only available schooling for blacks for almost 90 years following emancipation in 1865. Even when schooling was tax-supported, the "separate, but equal" doctrine reigned until the 1954 Supreme Court decision. Franklin (1978) observes that the post-1954 emphasis on "equal educational opportunity" sought to give every individual student a chance at success in American society regardless of social background. This emphasis was the result of nearly two decades of social science research into educational processes which essentially, following Warner's (1944) treatise on Who shall be educated?, described how social stratification in this society impacts the experiences of students in public schools.

Franklin (1978) believes that the nearly three decade long focus on what can be construed as a "liberal pluralism" stressing individual school achievement in desegregated public schools has inadvertently neglected a more "corporate pluralism" which would stress the welfare of racial or ethnic groups within such schools:

> ...The minority group students who have been 'integrated' into previously segregated public schools also possess cultures, but the new 'desegregated' school either denies or merely pays lip-service to the cultural background of the new minority student population... Continued acceptance of the goal of equality of opportunity must hinge upon evidence that sufficient numbers of individuals from the various racial and cultural minority groups are able to take advantage of opportunities and compete for the limited social and economic resources of the society... The goal of equality of opportunity does not insure the proportionate representation of racial and cultural minority groups in the more important sectors of the national economy... (pp. 204-205)

Historically, however, American schools have only reluctantly acknowledged social and cultural differences (Getzels, 1974, 1969). In 1933, for example, Woodson published The miseducation of the Negro. He observed that Afro-American history and culture were not then part of the typical black youth's education. Therefore, racial pride and commitments to racial advancement were not easily developed or sustained. This was true of both early private and public schools and has continued until now.

## Desegregation: Strategy or End-Goal?

A legacy of racial stratification in America that runs counter to the democratic national purpose or creed has produced and perpetuated economic and social deprivations within the black American community. American schools, because of their historic mission, policies and practices, are inextricably interdependent with this legacy. Focusing upon the obvious deprivations associated with racial segregation, early supporters of desegregation envisioned it not as a strategy or tactic, but as an end-goal. Not understanding this important distinction, many supporters of school desegregation, for example, have been disappointed by black response to their efforts. St. John (1974), for example, summarizing desegregation research to date, stated:

> The national mood has changed since 1954... The Black Revolt has engendered disillusionment with civil rights and waning interest in desegregation on the part of many black leaders and citizens. For them, racial integrity, self-determination, and political control of the institutions that affect their lives have replaced integration as top priorities... black social scientists are conspicuously absent among researchers who measure the effects of school desegregation. This is a loss, for their contribution might well involve asking more relevant questions about the desegregation process and about its effect on students' racial identification, militancy, and political self-consciousness. (p. 7)

Indeed, black scholars have challenged every assumption actively underpinning the thrust of the desegregation effort as originally prompted by the Myrdal (1944) volume. The idea of family deprivation associated with lower socioeconomic status per se as a factor in educational achievement has been challenged (e.g., Slaughter, 1969, 1977; Clark, 1983). The idea of unavoidable school ineffectiveness because services are being delivered to lower socioeconomic groups has been critiqued (e.g., Clark, 1965; Edmonds, 1979, 1982), as well as the implicit assumption that predominantly black schools cannot be educationally effective (e.g., Woodard, 1977; Sowell, 1977; Sizemore, 1984). Finally, the idea that desegregation per se is an end-goal rather than a strategy or tactic has been critiqued (e.g., Woodson, 1933; Sizemore, 1973; Slaughter, 1973; Franklin, 1978, Banks, 1979, 1984; Cheng, 1979; Adair, 1984).

Spindler and Spindler (1983) contend some of the best ethnographies have been conducted in American schools, but ignore some aspects of American culture. We believe with Ogbu (1974) that perceptions of race relations are important in American culture. Arguing for a multilevel approach to school ethnography, Ogbu (1981) stresses its applicability to study of minority school achievement because it does not neglect the broader school-community context in which attitudes about schooling originate. He points out that social and historical forces, including the nature and processes of societal stratification (e.g., race, class) enter into individual normative behavioral transactions in all settings (i.e., home, classroom, playground, etc.) where teaching and learning occur. Minority education has to be understood within the broader cultural-ecological context of school-community relations. Ogbu (1981) comments:

> School ethnography should be holistic, it should show how education is linked with the

> economy, the political system, local social structure, and the belief system of the people served by the schools...families and their children often utilize adaptive strategies in dealing with schools, which can only be adequately understood or appreciated if the ethnographer looks at linkages between schooling and the larger sociocultural systems... (pp. 6-14)

This ethnographic study of racially desegregated private schools must of necessity consider the meaning of racial desegregation, social and economic equity, and integration as perceived and experienced by the school participants. These concepts infuse and inform their educational goals and practices toward black children because they are concepts integral to black educational history within a racial and class-stratified society.

## Chapter 3

## Family Decisions and School Choice

For the past twenty years, one of the most controversial issues debated in the Congress has been whether to provide direct or indirect aid to families choosing private schools for their children in the form of tuition tax credits or education vouchers. Although the black community has not initiated or sponsored these legislative proposals, they have strong diverse opinions on the educational benefits of such policies for black children both rich and poor. While this study does not focus on analyzing the rationale or financial and organizational effects of tuition tax credits or vouchers, it is concerned with the equity issues inherent in these policies which have significant implications for the education of black children.

This chapter briefly describes the educational equity issues involving tuition tax credits from various black perspectives, i.e., A Better Chance, Black Student Fund, black Catholic parents, NAACP and Chicago Urban League. These positions became evident during the fieldwork of this study. To learn why black families choose private schools it is imperative to understand how the families in this study fit within the larger context of American society as it concerns itself with aid to private schools.

## Federal Support for Private Schools: Family Choice Initiatives

There is an established precedent of public financial support for private elementary and secondary schools in the United States. State and federal appropriations for private schools have been used for materials and supplies such as textbooks and student transportation to school. Recent legislative proposals are unlike these earlier programs in three major respects. First, most of the state and federal appropriations are targeted for various types of private schools; in the past it was directed primarily to religious schools. Second, the amount of aid being proposed for private elementary and secondary schools is substantially more than previous assistance programs. And finally, the aid would be given directly to the parents who choose private education for their children rather than to the private schools.

The two family choice initiatives currently being debated at state and federal levels are tuition tax credits and educational vouchers. Under the voucher system, parents would receive tuition certificates which would be redeemable at either public or private schools. In the instance of tuition tax credits, a family's federal or state income tax liability would be reduced equal to a specified portion of the cost of a child's tuition at a private school.

Supporters of the voucher proposal maintain that under this plan families would have a greater choice in selecting the type of school that best fits the educational needs of their children. The schools having to attract their clientele rather than rely on a captive student body would have to be more responsible and accountable to the families who would support them, in order to survive. As a result, the families would gain greater influence over school programs and activities (Coons & Sugarman, 1978). Advocates for tuition tax credits also believe that one of the benefits of this program is to increase family school choice. However, their immediate goal is to decrease the financial burden on private school families who pay local school taxes and private school tuition (Moynihan, 1979).

Equity issues regarding both education vouchers and tuition tax credits are concerned with who will benefit monetarily and educationally under either system. Proponents for family choice initiatives contend that wealthy families have greater opportunities to exercise a variety of educational alternatives for their children in the public or private sector, while poor families have only one option, the public schools. Supporters of educational vouchers maintain that a system which includes a tuition add-on supplement for poor families would increase the educational options of poor families and make them more equal to those of wealthier families (Coons & Sugarman, 1978). Tuition tax credit advocates argue that current taxation policies encourage economic and racial segregation by providing tax incentives for middle and wealthy income families to choose segregated exclusive public schools while providing no such incentives for lower income families to choose private schools (Vitullo-Martin, 1982). As for the educational benefits, supporters maintain that private schools tend to enhance academic achievement more so than public schools (Coleman, et al, 1981). If more poor children were given access to private schools their educational achievements would likely improve (Finn, 1981).

Critics of both plans assert that both proposals would ultimately benefit only the wealthy (Catterall & Levin, 1982). The amount of aid being proposed would do little to encourage poor families to choose private schools. Rather than providing opportunities for poor income families to attend private schools, tuition tax credits would most likely encourage middle income families to select private education. "Tuition tax credits will increasingly split the public and private schools along socioeconomic lines, with the public schools in many areas becoming educational wastelands, ignored but tolerated by a society that has taken care of the more demanding parents through private alternatives." (Breneman, 1982). With respect to educational benefits, critics maintain that the academic achievment differences between public and private school students are very slight (Willms, 1984). Moreover, private schools do not seem to be especially effective at promoting the academic achievement of disadvantaged and minority students (Alexander & Pallas, 1984).

The bases of these diverse opinions on the merits of vouchers and tuition tax credits is partially reflective of the dearth of studies that have been conducted in these areas. An examination of the research helps to explain to some extent why issues pertaining to equity concerns have been so unclear.

### Vouchers

The basic concept of the voucher system is that if elementary and secondary education were treated as a free market commodity, the quality of schools would undoubtedly increase. This system assumes that parents can be informed and effective shoppers of educational alternatives. Although the voucher concept had been touted for two centuries by a small number of economists and clergymen, it received considerable attention by educators and policymakers when Friedman (1962) advocated that the government issue education grants to parents. Under

Friedman's plan, parents would recieve a voucher for each child they had in elementary and secondary school. The value of the voucher would be equal to the costs of an average public per pupil expenditure, which was redeemable in state approved schools.

From the 1960's until today, advocates of voucher plans have worked on altering Friedman's "unregulated model" so that it is more responsive to issues of family financial need. (For a discussion of the differences in these plans see Sherman, 1983 and Levin, 1979.) Most of these proposals have not been implemented. Only one voucher experiment has been seriously studied by social scientists. However, even this experiment could not be considered as a "true" voucher plan because private schools were not included.

In the early 1970's, the Office of Economic Opportunity funded a voucher experiment at the Alum Rock School district in San Jose, California. The school district served a predominately poor and increasing minority population. (From 1970-71 through 1976-77, the percent of students with Spanish surnames grew from 47.2 to 57.2; the percent of black students increased from 10.1 to 11.5. The "other" category which was largely anglo decreased from 42.7 to 31.3.) During the years of the project, parents of elementary students (K-8) could choose among the mini-school programs for their children in any of the 14 voucher schools. Free transportation was provided for students who attended nonneighborhood schools.

Evaluation results of the Alum Rock experiment indicated that initially families with higher income and educational levels had a greater awareness and concrete knowledge of school program alternatives. However, over time information differences between family groups were reduced. As for the type of programs the families selected, the economically and socially disadvantaged families more often chose programs that were highly structured. However, regardless of their social and economic background characteristics, most of the parents did not choose programs on the basis of their instructional merits but rather because of the proximity and social composition of the school offering the program (Bridge & Blackman, 1978).

With respect to equity considerations concerning choice and family resources, this study suggests that less economically advantaged families will choose different programs if given the opportunity. However, their choice patterns seem to be constrained by the limits of information they have concerning alternatives.

However, the study reveals very little about the choice patterns and educational values of black families. When taking into account family income and educational attainment, there is no evidence that blacks behave differently than other racial groups in choosing school programs for their children. Results specifically pertaining to blacks indicate that the black families were the least satisfied with the educational system. Given that blacks were the least satisfied with the public system, it is unclear whether they would be more or less likely to choose private education were that alternative option available. Without including private schools as an option, this study does little to clarify the assumed positive or negative social consequences of a voucher system.

### Tuition Tax Credits

In the last fifteen years, tuition tax credit proposals have frequently been introduced at both state and federal levels. These proposals vary considerably in regard to equity issues. Specifically, the bills tend to favor the wealthy or poor by including regulations which limit the amount of credit and portion of tuition covered by the credit. In some instances, the bills also may contain refundability provisions for families whose incomes are so low that they would not benefit from a credit. Another provision often included in these proposals are school eligibility requirements. While designed to ensure civil rights guarantees, these school eligibility requirements vary considerably in their enforcement provisions (Sherman, 1983).

Congress has yet to pass a tuition tax credit plan, although several have been introduced in the Senate and by the administration. Minnesota has been the only state to pass a tax credit plan which was upheld by the Supreme Court. The Minnesota legislation allows families with children in public or private elementary and secondary school to deduct educational expenses from their income when assessing their state income tax liability. Expenditures on tuition, instructional materials and transportation qualify as deductions.

As in the case of educational vouchers, there have been few studies which have attempted to examine the effects of tuition tax credits on family school choice. The most recent of these studies conducted by the Rand Corporation in summer 1984, examined the effects of the Minnesota tax deduction legislation (Darling-Hammond & Kirby, 1984). A sample of 476 families with children in public and private schools were contacted by telephone. Parents were asked about family choice, knowledge and use of the income tax deduction and propensity to switch to private schools as a consequence of changes in deduction policies.

Results of this study contradicted other research on family choice. Neither income nor race were found to be related to public or private school choice. Factors considered important to selecting private education included school quality, moral and religious instruction, and school discipline.

Controversies over the establishment of a voucher or tuition tax credit system are likely to continue. One of the sources of contention between the supporters and opponents of either plan is directly tied to the administration and distribution of benefits (Manley-Casimir, 1982). Whether the poor and minorities stand to gain or lose educationally and monetarily if vouchers or tax credits become a reality is of major importance to the black community.

## Black Positions on Vouchers and Tuition Tax Credits

During the course of this study several factors related to the black community's position on vouchers and tuition tax credits began to unfold. Although the established black political power bases did not introduce or advocate vouchers or tuition tax credits, there are some black interest groups which support tuition tax credits for example, the Congress for Racial Equality (Freeman, 1982). Differences in opinion among the black community regarding these initiatives can be traced and linked to black attitudes toward ways to improve public education.

Over the past twenty years, problems with the public educational system have increased in scope and intensity. These problems have been summarized in the many recent reports, the most notable being A Nation at Risk (1983). The Chicago public school system exemplifies the seriousness of the educational situation for blacks and other minorities.

The Chicago public school system serves 427,000 students, 87 percent of whom are black, Hispanic, Native American, and Asian. Students in the elementary schools on basic skills achievement tests score significantly below the national average at most grade levels particularly in predominantly minority schools (Report of the Education Policy Task Force of the Washington Transition Committee, 1983). The situation is more disconcerting in the high schools. In predominantly black high schools, the average eleventh grader reads below 85 percent of his or her peers around the country. Fifty percent of students enrolled in the ninth grade fail to graduate from high school. Consequently, it is not unexpected that 25 percent of Chicago's adults are functionally illiterate.

Considering the findings of this task force, it is not surprising that there has been a growing disaffection among the black community with the type of education black children are receiving in Chicago public schools. (A more complete history of black disaffection with public education in Chicago and the United States is discussed in chapter 2.) What the black community in Chicago shares with other black groups is a commitment to excellent education for black children. Where the differences in opinion occur is how this can be achieved and sustained in American society. Support in the black community for tuition tax credits and vouchers reflects in part the ways different groups believe excellence in education for black children can be achieved.

### Black Opposition to Tuition Tax Credits and Vouchers

Among the black community, the strongest opposition to tuition tax credit legislation has come from the National Urban League and several of its regional affiliates (National Urban League, 1983). The NAACP has also issued a statement about the detrimental effects tax credits would have on public education (Cole, 1982). In a period of limited funds for education, these groups believe tax credit legislation would further divert scarce resources from public schools.

In the view of these groups the financial benefits of recent tuition tax credit bills would favor whites and middle and upper class families. Poor families having no tax liabilities, would not be eligible for a tax credit. Thus, those most likely to take advantage of the situation and likely to leave the public schools, would be middle income families. One possible outcome of this situation, is that private schools would raise their tuitions given the increasing demand. This would make private school completely out of reach for most poor families. Another consequence might be that as more students enroll in private schools, the base of support for private education would increase, making additional federal support more likely. Public schools would become the "institution" for the poor and minority.

### Black Support for Tuition Tax Credits

Diametrically opposed to the position of the Urban League are black segregationists and black Muslim groups who believe that public education has failed their people. Whereas the Urban League is committed to improving the quality of education for black children in public schools, these groups maintain that quality education for black children can only be achieved through privately controlled schools. These groups advocate black private separatist schools which are administered by individuals who share their ideology and values. The objective of a Muslim education is "to re-educate the so-called Negro, who has been the victim of centuries of mis-education... to attain his rightful place in the sun as a black man... to give the students a feeling of dignity and appreciation of their own kind." (Lincoln, 1961)

Both black segregationists and black Muslims have supported tuition tax credit legislation. Many parents who send their children to parochial schools have also supported tax credits. These parents like black Muslims believe their children can get a better education in Catholic schools than in public ones.

These families are willing to make considerable financial sacrifices so their children can attend Catholic schools. In a recent study of inner city Catholic schools (Cibulka, O'Brien, & Zewe, 1982), 81 percent of the sampled families reported earned incomes between $5,000 to $10,000 a year. These families pay $300.00 or more in tuition to send their children to Catholic schools.

Many of the parents in this study are black, and in several of the cities in the sample, black families constitute the largest racial group (Cibulka, et al, 1982). However, the majority of these black families (55 percent) are not Catholic. Contrary to the Muslims, these families are not necessarily supporting private schools because of religious values and convictions but because they believe that the Catholic schools provide a better education for their children. Often restricted to certain areas because of segregated housing patterns, these black parents are choosing a functional alternative to public schools.

Families sending their children to Catholic schools have been ardent supporters of tuition tax credits and vouchers. Without some financial relief, supporters fear many Catholic schools will have to close. Scarce resources make it extremely difficult to keep high quality teachers and adequate facilities. Increasing tuition payments is problematic as so many families are barely able to pay for existing fees. Moreover, scholarship aid is limited. For these families tax credits would be of tremendous help (Cibulka, et al, 1982).

Black families supporting tuition tax credits or vouchers share the belief that public education has not met their children's needs. Rather than allocating additional resources to public schools, these parents are seeking ways to strengthen their abilities to seek educational alternatives for their children. Continuation of present policies they believe can only limit their educational choices.

## The Mediating Position: Private Elite Schools

When tuition tax credit legislation was first introduced in Congress, the national organization of private elite schools and several of its regional affiliates endorsed the bill. Today however, the National Association for Independent Schools (hereafter referred to as NAIS) has reversed its position. While fully supportive of having more minorities access private education, NAIS believes that current legislation will primarily assist families with high incomes and will do little for the poor (NAIS, 1982). There is also a concern among some of the regional associations that tuition tax credits would encourage an entanglement between private schools and federal and state governments, which is something that private schools have assiduously avoided.

Although NAIS is not willing to support tuition tax credit proposals, they do share with other types of private school organizations the firm belief that private schools should flourish as a legitimate alternative to public schools. However, in contrast to other private schools, the emphasis in these schools is not just a quality education, but preparation for leadership positions in American society. The families who support these schools have higher family incomes than the national average. Elementary school tuition can be as high as $5,000 per year. Consequently, most of the families in these schools, have several educational options among which to choose when selecting a school. Since most students in these schools tend to come from white upper middle class backgrounds, affluent suburban schools are also an alternative. These parents do not face having limited options to public schools as do poor inner city black families.

Currently black families make up a small percentage of the total enrollment of these schools. This is a problem which NAIS would like to ameliorate. Recently NAIS has embarked on a major effort to increase minority enrollment in its member schools (Reed & Dandridge 1979). The official position of NAIS is:

> Every school within our nation's context has an imperative mission: to help prepare its students for life in a society composed of many different cultural, racial, and ethnic strands. The extent to which the school equips its young people to work and to live within a country characterized by an assortment of races, cultures, and life styles, each mutually celebrated, is an important indicator of its relevance to contemporary youth and its overall quality. The Board of Directors of the National Association of Independent Schools reaffirms its position, stated originally in 1974, that independent education must reflect the racial, ethnic and cultural pluralism which is a distinctive quality of American society. In active pursuit of this principle, we the Directors of NAIS, commit ourselves to a policy

> of promoting this principle in the Association's activities, programs, staff composition, and procedural practices; and we urge our member schools and associations to undertake a similar commitment (Reed & Dandridge, 1979).

There are several organizations that work with NAIS, whose primary mission is to increase minority enrollment in private schools. A Better Chance (hereafter referred to as ABC) is a national nonprofit organization, committed to finding talented minority students and placing them in high quality preparatory high schools. Through these experiences it is expected that ABC students will be more than adequately prepared for a successful experience in post secondary institutions. Founded in 1963, by a group of headmasters from 23 private secondary schools, ABC has recruited over 5,000 eighth and ninth grade minority students from public schools, into their program.

Recognizing the many problems facing public education, ABC is working to give black students another educational alternative. Their long term goals are for these students to assume positions of leadership and responsibility in American society. The organization hopes that the students will not assimilate and remember that they are black. In addition to fostering the importance of a black identity, the organization tries to promote among the students "a moral obligation and responsibility to their communities" (Personal communication ABC President Judith Berry Griffin and Professor Diana T. Slaughter, 1984).

A similar organization to ABC, but exclusively for blacks is the Black Student Fund (hereafter referred to as BSF). The purpose of this organization is to encourage black enrollment in private schools in the Washington, D.C. area. Started in 1964, over 1,806 scholarships have been awarded, and over 98 percent of the recipients have entered college.

In addition to BSF, several regional associations which belong to NAIS have also established committees to increase the number of minority students and teachers in private schools (Independent School Association of the Central States, Annual Meeting, 1983). What these organizations share is a commitment to strengthen and support desegregation in private elite schools, however, not through current tax credit legislation.

## Summary

Even though blacks have had a long term disaffection with public education as it was practiced in relation to them, until recently, public education was generally viewed as the only option for blacks to gain equal educational and financial opportunities in American society. Growing support for private education has seriously challenged the monopolistic function of public schools to accomplish these ends. Private schools are emerging as a significant competitor to public education for black students. As a result black people are having to take positions on the perceived educational benefits of financial support for private schools.

Black positions on support for private education are quite diverse. That is because these positions are made in the traditional ways various groups have viewed the goals of education. For example, black Muslims, who want to segregate themselves from white society, advocate support for private schools because it provides an opportunity to fulfill their separatist ideology. The Urban League, who believed that desegregation of public schools would increase educational resources to black children, does not support private education, because such support would further segregate the schools and ultimately result in fewer resources for the poor and minorities who would eventually constitute the public school population. For the black parents who are now supporting private schools, their attitudes toward public education have led them to their position. This choice for private education marks a clear change in the traditional type of public institutions where blacks have received their education.

As private schools actively recruit minorities and embrace concepts of racial, ethnic, and cultural pluralism, they are confronted with many of the same issues public schools have been tackling. How should black children be educated in a democratic society? This ethnography of private schooling provides an opportunity to study this problem.

# Chapter 4

## Design of the Study: Rationale

### Conceptual Framework

This is a study of the contexts of childhood socialization. At least one developmental researcher has recently argued for study of the impact of contexts on childhood growth and development. Studies of children that consider context have more immediate applicability to public policy. Even more important, because development implies enduring changes across time and settings, studies of context provide a means of interpreting individual data. Bronfenbrenner states:

> The first step in a comparative ecology of human development entails a systematic description and analysis of the settings in which development takes place. It is only recently, however, that researchers (i.e., child development researchers) have undertaken this task in a methodical fashion (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 169).

Summarizing the findings obtained with children, he concludes:

> What are the ecological transitions and intersecting connections that are most important to investigate in terms of their impact on developmental processes? For development in childhood and adolescence, the available evidence appears to point to a trio of

> settings involving home, school..., and peer group (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 236).

Bronfenbrenner has identified four contextual levels: (a) exosystem, (b) macrosystem, (c) mesosystem, and (d) microsystem. Each has an influence on individual behavior and development. According to Bronfenbrenner:

> An exosystem has been defined as consisting of one or more settings that do not involve the developing person as an active participant but in which events occur that affect, or are affected by, what happens in that setting...to demonstrate the operation of the exosystem as a context influencing development it is necessary to establish a causal sequence involving at least two steps: the first connecting events in the external setting to processes occurring in the developing person's microsystem and the second linking the microsystem processes to developmental changes in a person within the setting. The causal sequence may also run in the opposite direction (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, p. 237).

As an example, the historically unparalleled opportunity for black children to attend racially desegregated private schools in increased numbers could significantly and indirectly alter the course of the children's development because of (a) the schools' impact upon the families' educational philosophies or goals, and (b) how families realize these goals in their daily interactions with their children.

The concepts of macrosystem, mesosystem, and microsystem are more familiar. In chapters 2 and 3, four macrosystemic concepts were introduced that this ethnographic study defines from a phenomenological perspective: (a) racial desegregation, (b) social equity, (c) integration, and (d) private schooling. The assumption is that how parents and faculty construe the meanings of these constructs is culturally defining of the learning environments created for children. Relations between parents and school faculty constitute a mesosystem from the child's perspective because the child spends time in both separate, but mutually interdependent, social systems. Focus upon the child in a particular setting, such as the school or the family learning environment, constitutes a microsystemic focus.

In this study, discussions of the children's lives in school constitutes a microsystemic perspective. However, an attempt is made to do so using macrosystemic concepts. But discussions of the educational goals of parents and school faculty integrate both macro- and mesosytemic perspectives because while families and schools are separate social systems, the overriding interest of this study is in the relationship between the two systems as they make meaning of the broader societal context that impinges upon these children.

One of the earliest studies of the impact of the schooling context upon American childhood development was conducted by Minuchin, Biber, Shapiro, and Zimiles (1969). The authors reported high consensus on school goals and values between the middle class white children's families and the four elementary schools attended by these children (the study began in the late 1950's). Whereas the authors believed the schools impacted the participating families as well as children, at least one critic (Wallach, 1971) argued that these families could well have chosen the schools to be reflective of their own childhood socialization goals. The recent enrollment of increasing numbers of young black children into private schools provides a unique opportunity to study: (a) the black child's family as a socialization context in which educational goals, and strategies for realizing these goals, are formed and (b) the black child's schooling in settings in which qualitative differences in family participation and involvement will be especially important in terms of governance and management, because the schools are typically small, face-to-face organizations (Kraushaar, 1976; Erickson, 1978; Schneider, 1980; Oates, 1981).

## Selected Literature Review of Parental and School Factors in Black Student Achievement

### Parental Factors

Surprisingly little published research has been conducted into the impact of black children's family environments upon their academic achievement behaviors in elementary school. The bulk of the research has been conducted with children ages 0-5, rather than ages 6-12. The weight of the early childhood research with black children ages 0-4, which has used measures of intellectual performance as proxies to subsequent measures of academic achievement, is virtually conclusive: Parents, especially mothers, do have an important and sustaining role in their children's early intellectual growth and development, especially their language development (e.g., Stodolsky, 1965; Clarke-Stewart, 1978; Slaughter, 1983).

However, what is known of parental influences after early childhood is far more tentative. The paucity of empirical research is particularly striking because in recent years a rather large body of educational research literature has stressed the importance of potential conflict between the goals and values of traditional schools and the attitudes and practices of black parents (e.g., Lightfoot, 1978, 1979). Lightfoot observed of this literature:

> Researchers have searched for the source of the black child's low achievement and poor acculturation in school by focusing on the dissonance between family life style and the school environment.... There is recent convincing evidence that family-school collaboration in minority and poor communities has a powerful effect on teachers, parents, and children... (Lightfoot, 1978, pp. 159-174).

Arguing for a reconceptualization of the relationship between families and schools, Lightfoot reports Walberg's finding that when black parents from a lower-income Chicago community drew up written contracts of participation and responsibility with their children's school, the children's achievement levels improved significantly. Similar case studies have been published in the popular literature. Lightfoot observed that teacher attitudes and beliefs about the children's families and communities appear related to their teaching expectations and behaviors with the children (Lightfoot, 1979; Carew & Lightfoot, 1979).

The empirical research which has been conducted emanates largely from what Marjoribanks (1979) has designated the "Chicago School." This nomenclature refers to University of Chicago professors and their students.

Slaughter (1969, 1977) conducted studies of black preschool children just prior to school entry, and a followup through grade six. Mothers of these children were interviewed at both time periods. She found a significant correlation between preschool and kindergarten achievements and indicators of mothers' "openness of communication between themselves" and their children as well as indicators of their "degree of isolation" from available community institutions. Followup findings were more inconclusive: Mothers' attitudes toward their sixth grade children appeared, in part, to be shaped by the children's histories of academic successes and failures (as judged from teacher grades) than the children's actual performances on standard achievement tests.

Marjoribanks reports the findings of other members of the "Chicago School" who studied older students such as Dave (1963). Dave found that an index of the educational environment of the family predicted nearly 80% of the variance in children's achievements in arithmetic, reading, and word knowledge. Six "press" variables, including "achievement press," "language models," "academic guidance," "activeness of the family," "intellectuality in the home," and "work habits in the family" were replicated in these findings with fifth-graders. Data for this, and similar early studies, were typically obtained from interviews with mothers. Importantly, since the Chicago School has emphasized the salience of socioeconomic background in its interpretive framework, specific attention to the educational goals and values of black families, as black families, has not been made (e.g., Davis, 1948; Hess, 1965, 1970).

Where black school children and their families were studied, usually by anthropologically oriented researchers with lower income black populations (e.g., Scheinfeld, 1973), there has been considerable emphasis upon how the normative constraints of the community and family serve to either complement or conflict with the demands of traditional schooling. Brice-Heath (1982) reports that the families of black primary grade children have different expectations of the use of questions in adult-child conversations from those of the children's middle class, white teachers. Looking at black elementary school children in New York, Silverstein and Krate (1975) identify four typologies of childhood competence, and conclude that only one type, the Main-streamers, is consistently able to achieve in traditional public schools. Similar findings with primary graders are reported by Gouldner (1978). Gouldner's summary reflects the major observations of this line of inquiry:

> Consciously or not, the teachers made use of their pupils' ways of relating to the women in charge of them at home...The teachers were

> confronted with several courses of action which would enable them to teach the children sucessfully. They could make use of the child-mother interaction pattern as a vehicle for formal instruction or they could work on changing the parts of the pattern which did not seem beneficial to the child's ability to learn. Instead...the teachers were judgmental about the children's behavior and family relationships. They had a tendency to attribute good qualities to the children with middle-class and middle classlike patterns of adaptation and had qualities to the children whose ways of relating demonstrated that they came from lower class and welfare homes of which they disapproved (Gouldner, 1978, p. 136).

Ogbu (1974) after his study of black adolescents, concluded that more attention to community norms, role models, life styles, and perceptions of the job opportunity structure was strongly indicated if black underachievement in lower-income schools is to be understood.

Blau (1981) reports that her extensive study of 579 black mothers of fifth and sixth graders in Chicago public schools affirms the importance of parental roles in these children's academic achievements. In particular, black children of nondenominational mothers average higher achievement scores than others. Control or discipline strategies, valuation of education, and investment of family resources toward the children's achievements, are also crucial. The variables were important even when socioeconomic status and IQ were controlled. Further, the relative contributions of these variables to achievement differed for black and white families. Clark (1983) reports a study of academically successful and unsuccessful black adolescents from a lower-income Chicago neighborhood. He emphasizes that the two groups were distinguished by social processes within the family. Families of achieving students, whether one or two-parent, were more cohesive, experienced themselves as more in control of their lives, promoted intellectuality in the home, demonstrated academic support and pressure for school achievement, and required responsible behavior of the children, as far as work habits, and duties contributing to optimal family functioning. Like Blau (1981), Clark emphasizes the family learning environment as the crucial factor in black student achievement. In this line of inquiry, the well-known effects of socioeconomic status upon student achievement, including black student achievement, are thought to be mediated through family processes characterizing the home learning environment.

### School Factors

Miller (1983) has argued persuasively that the Coleman (1966) study did the most to advance educational research toward a better understanding of school effects upon student achievement. Ironically, the study concluded that family background factors (SES, race) contributed more than schooling to pupil achievement. The study also challenged a basic assumption underpinning the desegregation movement in that it concluded that finances and physical facilities per se had contributed little to between-school variations in student achievement. There are three points to be made in this summary overview of the impact of these research developments upon the education of black students generally, and this study in particular. First, there is an emerging consensus that social psychological variables do significantly affect the educational process, as well as student outcomes, even when family background variables are controlled. Second, the overwhelming majority of public schools do not conform to suggested optimal standards for school learning environments, particularly when black and/or other minority students, as well as lower-income students, are highly represented in the student body. However, there are documented instances of public schools composed of these students whose academic achievement performances average grade level or better on national norms. Third, the literature on school effects generally, and on effective schools in particular, has virtually ignored the contribution of social psychological family process variables to the total family school interactive context in which children learn and develop. Discussion of these three points will be limited to ethnographic case study reports including black children.

Social psychological variables have been repeatedly implicated in ethnographic studies of black classroom students. Ethnographic research in public schools shows that the goals of teachers for black (and low-income) students are different from those toward white (and higher-income) students (Rist, 1978; Leacock, 1969). Moreover, these differences produce learning situations in which black students feel isolated, are expected, and may demonstrate poor academic results (Rosenbaum, 1976).

The teacher plays a direct role in socializing the student toward the goals of the school and eventually influences student expectations toward achieving these goals. In an instance where black students were the newcomers to an all-white school, the goals the teacher had for the black students were different from those for the white students and the school as a whole. The result of these differential goals for black students were translated into teacher behaviors in learning situations in the classroom that compounded negative teacher expectations (Rist, 1978). Thus the teacher had internalized different goals for the black students and structured learning activities to meet those goals.

Classroom instruction of black children has been characterized by: (a) distorted presentation of the fundamental principles of mathematics, social studies, physical sciences and English; (b) superficial examination of curricular content; (c) infrequent opportunities for problem solving or independent action relevant to the development of an autonomous self; (d) over-emphasis on maintaining control over student behavior; and (e) implicit assumptions toward the academic achievement, behavior and life chances that were decidedly different than white students (Leacock, 1969; Rosenbaum, 1976; Rist, 1978; Williams, 1981).

For black students, however, some schooling is infinitely preferable to none at all. Green, Hofmann, Morse, Hayes, & Morgan (1964) have poignantly documented the disastrous effects of no schooling upon academic achievement and intellectual performance when public elementary schools were closed to black students in Prince Edwards County, Virginia from 1959-1964 as a result of white resistance to school desegregation. Conversely, those adolescent blacks who were able to reside with out-of-county host families during this period "...expressed significantly higher educational and occupational aspirations than those young people who had not received formal education and who had remained in the county..." (Green & Hayes, 1966, p. 49). The study nicely implicates both school and family factors in children's achievements and intellectual development.

As part of the effective schools literature, a considerable body of case study data indicates that predominantly black (and low-income) schools can be effective, given the criterion of grade level or better average academic achievement (e.g., Weber, 1971; Sowell, 1977; Fuerst, 1981; Hoover, 1978; Edmonds, 1979, 1982; Comer, 1980; Lipsitz, 1984; Sizemore, 1984). Teachers in such schools believe the students can master the instructional curriculum, and that they as teachers personally can make that difference. Students spend more time in learning, receive more direct instruction. The principals are educational leaders; the faculty does not consciously promote individual differences in performance through grouping or tracking policies. The schools have more parent-initiated contacts, and parent support of the academic curriculum is relatively high. Students perceive that teachers and parents believe they can learn; they also believe it themselves. Positive attitudes about education and learning held by faculty, parents, and students infuse and direct pedagogical practice.

Generally, however, the literature on effective schools neglects family variables. This is initially understandable given the challenge of the Coleman (1966) report. Educational researchers sought evidence of school effects independent of family background factors. Further, researchers and practitioners sought to hold schools accountable; faculty should not be permitted to substitute the idea that students from lower-income and/or minority homes cannot learn for the actual effort to teach them (e.g., Clark, 1965; Rist, 1973; Gouldner, 1978). However, there is evidence that the family does contribute to student achievement. More importantly, there is evidence that social psychological family process variables are more crucial than say, SES or race, precisely because they represent a closer approximation to what it is that families actually do when they optimally support children's achievement and learning. Representative existing research literature has been discussed.

## Family and School Factors: An Attempted Integration

Many familial and school variables have been identified. A study like this could take at least two paths. One path would be to measure each of the consistently identified variables in the relevant populations, and then examine their relationships. The path chosen here is instead to argue what is initially more important is to determine how these discrete processes are integrated with the overriding educational goals of parents and school faculty. Providing an optimal holistic learning environment for children involves assumption of a cultural life style, a mission, an identity, to which adults who share parenting and teaching roles must agree and support. However, schools, as ecological settings inclusive of parents, school faculty, and students, can be expected to vary on such social psychological variables as instructional styles of teachers, including how time for learning is allocated and used, how academic standards are set and communicated, how attitudes about individual differences in achievement are formed and expressed, how the role of the school's instructional leader is perceived and defined, how peer relations are fostered and developed, how familial support of the school's academic program is defined and perceived, how family life style is perceived to interface with the school community, how expectations for parental participation and involvement are communicated and evaluated, and even how central education itself is perceived to be in children's immediate and long-term futures.

Previous research has erred on three counts. First, by choosing paradigms which accentuate differences between families and schools (e.g., lower income black children in middle class oriented traditional schools) family school researches have neglected the considerable diversity which can occur within equally "optimal" learning environments. Second, selecting schools that are educationally "at risk" to describe the experiences of black children gives little insight into what American education can offer black people collectively. Third, there is too little acknowledgment that education is a socialization process in which families and schools interactively create children's learning environments. Ultimately, models of children's schooling must consider social psychological variables reflective of the interactive relationship between families and schools. This ethnographic study is one step in that preferred future direction because it primarily attempts to describe how the educational goals of parents and school faculty converge to create four very different, but essentially adequate, educational environments for participating black children. The increasing induction of black children into private school settings offers a unique opportunity to further investigate these issues for two reasons. First, black parents explicitly choose to send their children to these schools, and second, private schools are compelled to more explicitly define or rationalize their goals, policies, and practices to their constituencies because they do not have a guaranteed population.

## Research Design

Chapters 1-4 develop several arguments and assumptions pertinant to the design of the present study. In chapter 1, it is observed that increasing numbers of black families are enrolling their children in urban private elementary schools, and that little is known as to why they are making this educational choice. An assumption was made that in order to understand why families are choosing private schools an holistic, ethnographic study of representative school cultures in which the children are socialized is indicated. Interviews with parents would necessarily be supplemented by interviews with school personnel and observations of the children's life in school. Educational research with black children has typically not used an ethnographic approach. Studies of both parents and schools that have been conducted stress discontinuties between home and school learning environments (e.g., Ogbu, 1974; Gouldner, 1978; Brice-Heath, 1982).

Until now this chapter, chapter 4, amplifies the argument in chapter 1 by presenting selective familial and school researches that emphasize the social psychological processes affecting black children's learning and development, presumably through the kinds of learning environments created for them. It has been argued that rather than identify and measure each of these discrete processes, it would be initially more useful to see how they cohere holistically in very different, but adequate, educational settings. Conceptualizing school as an enduring ecological setting involving transactions between families and school faculty which serve to ultimately create a learning environment is, as has been shown, a relatively novel approach to educational research.

In chapter 2, black educational history is used to initially identify key concepts and issues that an ethnography of black children's lives in school must address. For example, parental and school personnel beliefs about racial desegregation, social equity (or opportunities for same via school achievement), and integration are important. It is also important to determine how these beliefs impact educational goals and, therefore, the daily experiences of the children in the schools. An assumption was made that Chicago would be a particularly good city to conduct such a study because there is a 150 year history of conflict and dissent between the black community and its public schools that encapsulates much of the nationally debated issues associated with black education.

Finally, chapter 3 summarizes and integrates what is presently known of the impact of federal initiatives to promote greater flexibility of family choice in educational planning for children. These initiatives have most often been concretized in specific support of tuition tax credits or voucher plans, about which only a few demonstration projects have been conducted. At the same time that black families have increasingly enrolled their children in private schools, black community groups have taken positions on the federal initiatives. Generally, the positions are consistent with the specific group's social and political ideology. Most groups see the initiatives as potentially undermining to the existing organizational status of public education, but the groups are not uniformly agreed that the present situation benefits black children. However, even if they agree that it does not, they do not agree upon the strategies for school involvement. Nonetheless, before now few in-depth studies of black parental educational goals have been conducted. None has integrated an assessment of these parents' educational goals with the goals of the school cultures into which their children are socialized.

### Hypotheses

Embedded within this ethnography are three prior assumptions, given the research questions, which can be restated in the form of hypotheses:

1. Black families choose private schools in accordance with their own educational goals for their children;

2. Diversity of private school types will be significantly associated with diversity in black student outcomes;

3. Private schools, as ecological settings, contribute significantly (i.e., beyond family background characteristics) to black students' educational outcomes, including academic achievements, aspirations and expectations, and self esteem.

## Research Plan

Given these observations and hypotheses, the design of the study initially had two essential elements: (a) in-depth study of the educational goals of black parents and school personnel, particularly as these goals impact the school life of black children, (b) across three highly differing (private elite, private alternative, private sectarian) urban private elementary school cultures. The schools were to have existed for at least five, preferably 10, years, have presently at least a 10 percent black student population, and have shown a minimum percentage increases in black student enrollment over the past ten years of ten percentage points. It was assumed that schools would be racially desegregated, that is, no more than 50 percent of the student population would be black. This preference would be consistent with a second observation that had been made. Over the past ten to fifteen years, many urban private schools that had been racially segregated have been voluntarily desegregating (see chapters 1 and 5), yet little is known of how black children fare in these school settings.

Design modifications were made in accordance with field work demands. There were three major modifications. First, the research was conducted in four, instead of three schools. Second, though the four schools were desegregated and had existed for over 10 years, they could not be equated on percent black enrollment, nor percentage increments in black enrollment between 1970-1980. Percent black enrollments at the two private elite schools were 6 and 28. Percent black enrollment in the private sectarian school was 35, while the percent in the private alternative school was 50. No percentage increases were documented in the private alternative and one of the two elite schools, while increments in the two other schools reached a maximum of eight percent between 1970-1980. Third, at the specific request of schools, nonblack families were interviewed and nonblack children tested.

Chapter 5 describes the rationale for including the fourth school, as well as for school selection generally. The fourth school has a leadership position in the private school community. This school was significantly greater in pupil size, but lower in percentages of attending black students. However, by educational research standards, all schools are considered "small schools" (Schneider, 1980).

The four schools could not be equated on racial composition and racial increments between 1970-1980 partly because of Chicagoan residential patterns, school admissions policies, and the demands associated with the scope of the study. Chapter 7 describes these residential patterns, and chapter 9 discusses some of these admissions policies.

There is greater diversity between schools on key sociological variables (i.e., school size, racial composition, and percentage increments in black student enrollment between 1970-1980) than originally planned. Under these conditions, obtained communalities across schools between black parents and children are even more significant, and particularly if these communalities are not shared with nonblack parents. However, while the four schools, and the lives of black children within these schools, may be contrasted, it is frequently difficult to determine whether obtained school effects are solely attributed to their unique educational philosophies and organizational forms as contrasted with the identified sociological differences. School contrasts can generate hypotheses for further investigation, but not conclusive findings.

## Conclusion

In summary, for purposes of the major quantitative analyses performed with obtained data, race and school are key independent variables in the study. However, race (i.e., racial composition, racial increments) also emerged as a major modifying or confounding variable affecting between school comparisons. School personnel introduced race as an independent variable (see Appendix B); the neighborhood locations and admissions policies of each school introduced race as a major modifying or confounding variable. An extensive survey (see chapter 5) of 30 percent of available Chicago private schools suggested that four racially desegregated schools with significantly different educational philosophies and professional linkages could never be simultaneously equated on the sociological variables. This study opted to maximize school diversity in educational philosophy. Racial and class diversities between schools were quite possibly inevitable by-products of the decision (Edmonds, 1981). The value of this case study is that it focuses upon black family school relations in four very different, but adequate, educational settings. Further, the schools are private, and therefore, must persuade families to become part of its community. They are assumed to be more self-conscious of their identity and mission. The next two chapters discuss specific aspects of the study design. Chapter 5 focuses on sampling and school selection procedures, chapter 6 on an overview of specific methods and data collection procedures used in the research.

# Chapter 5

## Selecting the Private Schools

Chicago has followed the national trend of increasing black enrollments in private elementary schools. For example, in Chicago area Catholic schools, black students represented 17 percent of the total population of elementary students in 1970. Within a ten year period, the percentage of black students in the school population increased to 30 percent (Catholic Schools Office, 1982). Catholic schools are not the only type of private schools which have shown increases in black enrollments. Headmasters of small private schools also report increases in black enrollment (Private Schools Report, 1981). These increases in enrollment can be partially explained by increases in the proportion of black families who find private schools affordable and changes in the racial composition in the neighborhood areas from which private schools draw their clientele (Schneider & Slaughter, 1984).

Access and affordability only partially explain why there have been increases in black enrollments in private schools. Not all black families who can afford to send their children to private schools are selecting this type of educational alternative. This study was specifically designed to gain a more comprehensive in-depth understanding of why black parents are choosing to enroll their children in private schools and what are the experiences of their children in these schools. To explore these questions in depth it was decided that an ethnographic study of a small number of different types of private elementary schools would provide the most appropriate setting (see chapter 4 for more discussion of the design of the study.). This chapter describes how the schools for this study were selected. Selection of the families and children is discussed in chapter 7.

## Criteria for School Selection

Aside from the search for private schools with a reputation for academic excellence, the selection of the schools was guided by several criteria which concentrated on choice, school, and population considerations. Ideally, the schools were to represent three different types of private elementary schools, which had similar organizational and demographic characteristics and enroll 300 to 400 students, 10 percent of whom are black Americans. Each of the schools should also show an increase in black student enrollment over the past ten years. Preliminary projections of school size was based upon current knowledge of small schools (Schneider, 1980), and of percentages of black Americans in the national population.

### Choice Considerations

During the elementary school years it is the parents who are primarily responsible for determining the school that their children will attend. Enrollment in private schools at the secondary level and post-secondary level is more likely to be the result of joint-decision-making between children and parents. The decision to select three different types of schools, i.e., elite, alternative, and sectarian also related to choice considerations. By selecting different types of schools there would be greater opportunities to examine a fuller range of black family perspectives concerning the reasons and decision-making process they used when choosing to enroll their children in private schools. Further, it would be possible to explore how diversity of school goals is associated with diversity of student outcomes.

### School Considerations

School considerations focused on issues of comparability. The schools were expected to be matched on key organizational and demographic variables such as size, adult-child ratios, grade levels served, size of teaching staff and percent black. Controlling for these in-school factors would make it easier to compare and contrast the schools. To ensure variability among families matches were not made for affiliation (sectarian, nonsectarian), resources (e.g., tuition rates), or percent of peers receiving AFDC benefits.

## Population Considerations

As for population considerations, the schools must have existed for at least ten years and serve ethnically stable neighborhoods. Understandably, patterns of family choice are undoubtedly confounded in situations where schools are actively recruiting students in order to survive. Finally, the school population should show an increase in black student enrollment over the past ten years. By restricting the sample to schools which are desegregated the "newcomer" phenomenon could more easily be observed. In these situations it would be possible to learn how black students and their families come to feel part of the school they have chosen. In order to find schools which met these criteria several activities were undertaken.

## Identification of the Schools

To identify potential schools a list of recognized private elementary and secondary schools was obtained from the Illinois State Board of Education in March, 1982. In the state of Illinois there are about 1247 private schools; 1093 which are denominational, 154 of which are nondenominational. Of the denominational schools, about 353 or 28 percent are in the Chicago metropolitan area. Twenty-three percent ($\underline{N}$=290) are Catholic. Of the nondenominational schools, about 53 or four percent are in the Chicago metropolitan area. About 33 to 50 percent of these are private elite schools. The remaining are private alternative schools which have cooperated since 1973 in a relatively unique Alternative School Network (ASN).

A list of private schools was obtained from the Illinois State Board of Education directory, Illinois Nonpublic Schools (May, 1982). This list includes all private schools in the state of Illinois that have met the following criteria: (a) state compulsory attendance laws, (b) federal and state laws regarding non-discrimination, and (c) compliance with state local safety requirements.

In spring of 1982, a letter and stamped self-addressed postcard were mailed to all of the recognized private elementary schools in Cook County ($N$=543). Letters were not sent to special schools, such as those for physically or mentally handicapped children. The letter, addressed to the administrator, explained that the investigators were interested in learning how minority students adjust in private elementary school environments. At this time, the administrators were not asked to commit themselves to the study, but only to fill out the stamped postcard. The postcard asked: (a) percent minority (under 15%, 15-30%, 31-45%, more than 45%) and (b) if they wanted additional information on the planned study. Thirty-nine percent of the schools replied to this mailing (N=211), and 177 schools indicated that they were willing to participate.

During fall of 1982, another letter was sent to the 177 schools. This letter indicated that plans were being undertaken to conduct a small study on the school experiences of black students in private elementary schools. In order to determine what was the typical representation of black students in different types of private schools, the first stage of the study would be a three to five minute telephone conversation to obtain this information.

Documentation of increments in black enrollments in various types of private schools are extremely difficult to obtain. For example, the Illinois State Board of Education does not tabulate minority enrollments in private schools. Associations such as the National Association for Independent Schools, to which elite schools belong, or the Alternative Schools Network, to which alternative schools belong, also do not release information on minority enrollments. Moreover, the National Center on Educational Statistic does not tabulate minority enrollments by school type.

Telephone Survey

From the 177, only 99 of the schools were located in Chicago, agreed to participate, and did not serve special populations. Through the months of November and December, 1982 all 99 schools were contacted by telephone. In Chicago there are 334 recognized private elementary schools. Thus, the telephone interview sample represented 30 percent of the total population of recognized private elementary schools in Chicago.

The telephone survey was conducted with the building leaders of 99 schools. The building leader was questioned about total enrollments, black enrollments and other minority enrollments for 1970, 1975, and 1981. If the school had an increase of over 10 percent in black enrollments, the interviewer probed for reasons. Finally, the building leader was asked if the school served the neighborhood community, drew its constituency from all parts of the city, or served both neighboring and city-wide populations.

Results from the telephone survey revealed that only a few schools met the criteria of the "ideal school." From the results, it was possible to identify one elite school (Elite II), one alternative school and five Catholic schools which closely matched the criteria. After several conversations and meetings with the Educational Research Director of the Catholic Archdiocese in Chicago, as well as visits to potential Catholic schools, the selection was narrowed to one Catholic school. Though smaller than anticipated, this school's size was similar to that of the available Alternative school, and one of the few in this city that was both desegregated and yet contained more than 10, but fewer than 51, percent black pupils.

While in the process of selecting the schools, a letter arrived from another elite school other than the one identified which indicated that they would very much like to participate in the study. Although the school was far less than 10 percent black, its reputation for academic excellence and commitment to desegregation warranted its inclusion in the study. The inclusion of this school brought the total of the sampled schools to four.

From December 1982 through February 1983, meetings were held with the administrators and key school personnel of all four schools. For the Alternative school, a meeting was also held with a parent-teacher policy and planning group. After negotiations all four schools agreed to participate fully in all aspects of the planned study. The chosen schools met the criteria with three exceptions: (a) only one (Elite II) had the expected pupil size, (b) percentages of black pupils varied from 6 to 50 percent, and (c) documentation of increments in black enrollment was possible in only two (Elite II, Catholic) of the four. Published reports do not discuss the implications of school size per se on educational processes below N=600. The effects of school size are mediated by such factors as teacher-child ratio and classroom size. Therefore, for purposes of this study the four schools are equated on school size (Rutter, 1983; Schneider, 1980). The fact that these four schools were receptive to the scope of the planned in-depth study necessitated compromises. As a result of the compromises, extensive additional work was conducted on the national and local representativeness of the schools.

## Other Data Sources

Additional information on the schools in the sample was obtained from the Illinois State Board of Education Data Tape. This data tape includes information on: (a) school characteristics, i.e., affiliation of school, grades served, enrollments by grade and size of teacher and administrative staff, and (b) student characteristics, i.e., percentage of students from low income families and sex ratios. To contrast the sample schools with schools of their type nationally, data were also obtained from the National Center for Education Statistics data file Private School Survey 1980. This data file provided information on affiliation, grades served, and size of teacher and administrative staff.

The U.S. 1980 and 1970 Census Tapes were used to describe the characteristics of the communities which serve urban neighborhood private schools. Information on family structure, age, race, housing values, occupation and income were obtained for residents living in the census tracts where the schools were located.

## Characteristics of the Sampled Schools

To learn how representative the sample schools were of private schools nationally, an analysis which compared the sample schools with schools of their type on selected characteristics, i.e., enrollments, number of teachers, and pupil/teacher ratio was conducted. These results are reported in Table 5-1.

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Insert Table 5-1

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Table 5-1 indicates how comparable the sample schools are to schools of their type on a national level. The Elite II, Alternative, and Catholic schools are representative of schools of their type with respect to student enrollments, number of teachers and pupil/teacher ratios. As for the Elite I school, the enrollment size and number of teachers per school are significantly greater than other Independent schools. However, the Elite I pupil/teacher ratio is not significantly different from that of other Independent schools.

## Table 5-1

### National Comparisons on Selected Characteristics Between Sample Schools With Other Schools of Their Type[a]

| School Type[b] | Selected Characteristics: Pupil Enrollment K-8 | | Number of Teachers | | Pupil/Teacher Ratio | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sample N | National M | Sample N | National M | Sample N | National M |
| Elite I<br>(Roman) | 564<br>(3.54)[c] * | 123.5 | 43.7<br>(4.06) | 9.05 | 12.91<br>(-0.20) | 14.22 |
| Elite II<br>(Oak Lawn) | 331<br>(1.66) | 123.5 | 26.0<br>(1.99) | 9.05 | 12.73<br>(-0.23) | 14.22 |
| Alternative<br>(Monroe) | 126<br>(0.02) | 123.5 | 10.5<br>(0.17) | 9.05 | 12.00<br>(-0.34) | 14.22 |
| Catholic<br>(St. August) | 163<br>(-0.43) | 230.6 | 6.0<br>(-0.63) | 10.05 | 27.17 | 21.98 |

[a] National figures obtained for 1980. Nationwide there were 1,777 Independent Schools and 11,680 Catholic Schools during this period.

[b] For purposes of this analysis Elite I, Elite II and the Alternative Schools are compared with all national Independent Schools.

[c] Z scores in parenthesis; the 5% significant level is 1.96.

* $p < .05$.

Source: Data for this table were obtained from the Illinois State Board of Education, 1981 Nonpublic Registration, Enrollment and Staff Report and the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics Private School Survey 1980.

## Local Comparisons for Selected School Characteristics

To learn how representative the sampled schools were of those schools identified in the overall sample ($N$=99), an analysis which compared these two groups was conducted. The first analysis compared selected school characteristics (i.e., pupil enrollment, number of teachers, pupil/teacher ratio, and number of blacks in school) between the sample schools ($N$=4) and other schools of their type. Results are reported in Table 5-2. For purposes of these analyses, the Alternative school is contrasted with other, free-standing independent schools. Too few other Alternative schools were officially registered with the State of Illinois. Further, this school also belongs to the same midwestern Independent Schools Network as do Elite I and Elite II schools.

Insert Table 5-2

Results from Table 5-2 indicate that the sample schools are representative of schools of their local type with respect to number of teachers, pupil/teacher ratio and number of blacks in school. The pupil enrollment for Elite I is significantly greater than other local schools of its type.

Comparisons were also made between the geographical area housing the sample schools and the other local private

## Table 5-2

## Comparisons on Selected School Characteristics Between Sample Schools With Other Schools of Their Type in the City of Chicago

Selected School Characteristics 1981[a]

| School Type | Pupil Enrollment K-8 | | No. of Teachers | | Pupil/Teacher Ratio | | No. Blacks in School | | % Black Students | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Sample N | City M | Sample | City M | Sample N | City M | Sample N | City M | Sample N | City M |
| Elite I<br>(Roman) | 564<br>(.015)* | 101.56 | 43.7<br>(.017)* | 8.62 | 12.91<br>(.679) | 9.55[b] | 35<br>(.654) | 73.4[c] | 6%<br>(.182) | 63.4%[d] |
| Elite II<br>(Oak Lawn) | 331<br>(.165) | 101.56 | 26.0<br>(.174) | 8.62 | 12.73<br>(.695) | 9.55 | 93<br>(.819) | 73.4 | 28%<br>(.394) | 63.4% |
| Alternative<br>(Monroe) | 126<br>(.875) | 101.56 | 10.5<br>(.876) | 8.62 | 12.00<br>(.762) | 9.55 | 59<br>(.866) | 73.4 | 50%<br>(.741) | 63.4% |
| Catholic<br>(St. August) | 163<br>(.326) | 323.98 | 6.0<br>(.324) | 11.90 | 27.17<br>(.997) | 27.22 | 55<br>(.607) | 154.72 | 35%<br>(.939) | 38.5% |

*T values in parentheses significant for a 2 sided T test $p \leq .05$.

[a] Information on citywide Independent and Catholic Schools was obtained from the Phone Survey, 1981. There were 10 Independent Schools and 64 Catholic Schools that responded. The City M's for Pupil Enrollment, Number of Teachers, Blacks and Pupil/Teacher Ratio are based on the 10 Independent Schools and the 64 Catholic Schools.

[b] *N* = 8, instead of 10, schools in this column.

[c] Citywide means for the numbers of blacks in the school for both Independent and Catholic Schools are higher than the number one would assume based on the number of blacks in the nation. It should not be assumed that these high numbers of blacks are present in each of the Independent and Catholic Schools. There is considerable variability in the numbers of blacks in the 99

schools that responded. For the Independent Schools the standard deviation is 247.59. For the Catholic Schools the standard deviation is 200.06.

[d] N = 99 for City M. These numbers were not compared with nationwide statistics because information on the number of blacks in different types of schools nationwide for 1980 was not available.

Source: Slaughter and Schneider, Phone Survey 1982 and Illinois State Board of Education, 1981 Nonpublic Registration, Enrollment and Staff Report.

schools on selected census population characteristics, for example, race, family structure, child population, household income, housing value, adult educational attainment, employment and occupational categories. These data are presented in Table 5-3. In chapter 7 the demographic data on sending families in this study are compared with national data on sending families.

## Local Comparisons for Selected Population Characteristics Among the Sample Schools

The percentage black enrollment in the 99 responding private schools increased citywide from 22 percent in 1970, to 34.8 in 1975, to 40.4 percent in 1981. The Alternative and Elite I schools remained stable at 50 and 6 percents, respectively, during this period. However, the Elite II school increased from 20 percent in 1970, to 25 in 1975, and 28 in 1981. Finally, the Catholic school increased from 10 percent in 1970, to 20 in 1975 to 35 percent in 1981. Both Elite II and Alternative have over 50 percent blacks in their census tracts, while Elite I and Catholic have fewer than 20 percent. A similar pattern occurs for the numbers of black children (see Table 5-3).

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Insert Table 5-3

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Table 5-3 indicates that the neighborhood characteristics of the areas in which the four sample schools are located

### Table 5–3

### Comparisons on Selected Census Population Characteristics[a] Between Sample Schools With Other Schools of Their Type in the City of Chicago

A. Racial Composition

| School Type | Elite I (Roman) | Elite II (Oak Lawn) | Alternative (Monroe) | Other Independent N = 9 | Catholic (St. August) | Other Religious N = 86 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whites | 6,716<br>(93.4)[b] | 2,385<br>(32.7) | 2,911<br>(41.8) | 1,452<br>(39.9) | 4,854<br>(66.6) | 2,634<br>(52.1) |
| Blacks | 276<br>(3.8) | 4,863<br>(66.6) | 3,717<br>(53.3) | 4,717<br>(55.1) | 1,306<br>(17.9) | 1,980<br>(35.0) |
| Others | 195<br>(2.7) | 56<br>(0.8) | 341<br>(4.2) | 218<br>(5.1) | 1,123<br>(15.4) | 529<br>(12.8) |
| Total | 7,187 | 7,304 | 6,969 | 6,387 | 7,283 | 5,143 |

B. Family Structure: Households With Children Under 18

| School Type | Elite I (Roman) | Elite II (Oak Lawn) | Alternative (Monroe) | Other Independent N = 9 | Catholic (St. August) | Other Religious N = 86 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Married Couples | 215<br>(70.5) | 619<br>(61.5) | 362<br>(50.8) | 425<br>(57.6) | 297<br>(63.5) | 434<br>(65.0) |
| Male-Headed | 13<br>(4.3) | 51<br>(5.1) | 34<br>(4.8) | 54<br>(5.4) | 31<br>(6.6) | 29<br>(4.4) |
| Female-Headed | 70<br>(23.0) | 331<br>(32.9) | 308<br>(43.2) | 416<br>(35.1) | 128<br>(27.4) | 223<br>(30.0) |
| Total | 305 | 1,006 | 713 | 907 | 468 | 691 |

5-3

continued

C. Population of Children (Ages 5-17)

| School Type | Elite I (Roman) | Elite II (Oak Lawn) | Alternative (Monroe) | Other Independent N = 9 | Catholic (St. August) | Other Religious N = 86 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total | 276 | 1,834 | 731 | 1,315 | 527 | 1,101 |
| White | 247<br>(89.5) | 388<br>(21.2) | 109<br>(14.9) | 102<br>(33.5) | 265<br>(50.3) | 408<br>(48.0) |
| Black | 17<br>(6.2) | 1,432<br>(78.1) | 593<br>(81.1) | 1,177<br>(58.0) | 150<br>(28.5) | 546<br>(35.5) |

D. Household Income

| School Type | Elite I (Roman) | Elite II (Oak Lawn) | Alternative (Monroe) | Other Independent N = 9 | Catholic (St. August) | Other Religious N = 86 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Under 10,000 | 432<br>(8.5) | 456<br>(22.4) | 886<br>(23.1) | 838<br>(30.4) | 1,385<br>(37.1) | 561<br>(33.0) |
| 10,000 - 19,999 | 1,514<br>(30.0) | 504<br>(24.8) | 1,187<br>(31.0) | 712<br>(29.0) | 1,310<br>(35.0) | 524<br>(29.1) |
| 20,000 - 29,999 | 1,139<br>(22.5) | 519<br>(25.5) | 883<br>(23.0) | 470<br>(18.5) | 571<br>(15.3) | 377<br>(20.5) |
| 30,000 - 49,999 | 1,080<br>(21.4) | 388<br>(19.1) | 608<br>(15.9) | 309<br>(14.4) | 347<br>(9.3) | 264<br>(14.0) |
| 50,000 & Up | 890<br>(17.6) | 168<br>(8.3) | 267<br>(7.0) | 122<br>(7.6) | 125<br>(3.3) | 65<br>(3.4) |

5-3

continued

E. Housing Values

| School Type | Elite I (Roman) | Elite II (Oak Lawn) | Alternative (Monroe) | Other Independent N = 9 | Catholic (St. August) | Other Religious N = 86 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Median Rent | 403 | 230 | 333 | 240 | 227 | 186 |
| Median Housing Value | 200,000 | 45,100 | 125,000 | 90,911 | 156,800[c] | 43,894 |

F. Educational Attainment of Adults

| School Type | Elite I (Roman) | Elite II (Oak Lawn) | Alternative (Monroe) | Other Independent N = 9 | Catholic (St. August) | Other Religious N = 86 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not H.S. Graduate | 214 (3.2) | 1,698 (34.4) | 582 (9.8) | 1,352 (25.5) | 1,681 (25.8) | 1,527 (45.2) |
| H.S. Graduate | 714 (10.6) | 1,601 (32.5) | 937 (15.8) | 1,410 (26.8) | 1,740 (26.7) | 1,122 (29.5) |
| Some College | 1,310 (19.5) | 981 (19.9) | 1,368 (23.1) | 938 (21.0) | 1,238 (19.0) | 583 (14.8) |
| 4 Years College | 2,214 (33.0) | 394 (8.0) | 1,104 (18.6) | 393 (11.0) | 946 (14.5) | 229 (5.7) |
| 5 or More Years College | 2,261 (33.7) | 256 (5.2) | 1,940 (32.7) | 457 (15.6) | 917 (14.1) | 182 (4.8) |

5-3

continued

G. Employment Categories

| School Type | Elite I (Roman) | Elite II (Oak Lawn) | Alternative (Monroe) | Other Independent N = 9 | Catholic (St. August) | Other Religious N = 86 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Private Wage & Salary Workers | 4,754 | 2,060 | 2,831 | 2,049 | 2,827 | 1,693 |
| Federal Government | 181 | 186 | 220 | 161 | 166 | 82 |
| State Government | 170 | 74 | 257 | 120 | 86 | 55 |
| Local Government | 243 | 489 | 636 | 205 | 238 | 201 |
| Self-Employed | 483 | 126 | 216 | 82 | 139 | 70 |

H. Occupation Categories

| School Type | Elite I (Roman) | Elite II (Oak Lawn) | Alternative (Monroe) | Other Independent N = 9 | Catholic (St. August) | Other Religious N = 86 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Health & Other Professions | 1,336<br>(22.9) | 440<br>(15.0) | 1,118<br>(26.8) | 481<br>(19.0) | 787<br>(22.7) | 256<br>(11.6) |
| Education | 445<br>(7.6) | 395<br>(13.5) | 921<br>(22.1) | 269<br>(13.3) | 211<br>(6.1) | 143<br>(6.7) |
| Public Admin. | 217<br>(3.7) | 200<br>(6.8) | 350<br>(8.4) | 177<br>(5.7) | 142<br>(4.1) | 118<br>(5.6) |
| Finance | 1,208<br>(20.7) | 203<br>(6.9) | 360<br>(8.6) | 257<br>(9.3) | 490<br>(14.1) | 165<br>(7.2) |
| Business & Repair Serv. | 513<br>(8.8) | 167<br>(5.7) | 153<br>(3.7) | 174<br>(7.1) | 257<br>(7.4) | 100<br>(4.6) |

5–3

continued

H. Occupation Categories (cont'd)

| School Type | Elite I (Roman) | Elite II (Oak Lawn) | Alternative (Monroe) | Other Independent N = 9 | Catholic (St. August) | Other Religious N = 86 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Manufacturing | 620<br>(10.6) | 486<br>(16.6) | 341<br>(8.2) | 453<br>(15.0) | 482<br>(13.9) | 571<br>(29.1) |
| Sales | 690<br>(11.8) | 512<br>(17.4) | 504<br>(12.1) | 410<br>(15.1) | 559<br>(16.1) | 417<br>(19.3) |
| Other | 808<br>(13.8) | 532<br>(18.1) | 419<br>(10.1) | 458<br>(15.4) | 536<br>(15.5) | 336<br>(15.9) |

[a] Counts rounded to nearest integer.

[b] Numbers in parentheses are percentages. Percentage figures given for other independent and other religious schools are unweighted means of percentages for schools in those categories.

[c] Upon inspection, this figure represents 39 households.

Source: U.S. Census Tape 1980.

tend to be households in which both spouses are present (Average % = 62). However, the census tract of the Alternative school has a high percentage of female-headed households (43.2%).

The schools are located in areas which (a) are likely to be racially diverse (with the exception of Elite I), (b) have high median family incomes (with the exception of the Catholic school), (c) have a high percentage of white collar occupations, and (d) have high level of educational attainment beyond high school by comparison to local averages.

In comparison with the other 95 schools, the neighborhood characteristics of the areas in which the sample independent schools and the Catholic school are located vary along several dimensions. With respect to racial composition, the Elite I school is located in an area which is predominately white. The Elite II school is located in an area which is more heavily concentrated with blacks, whereas the location of the Alternative school is most like that of other independent schools. The Catholic school is located in an area which has more whites than other religious schools.

As for family structure, Elite I and Elite II are located in areas where there are more married couples than other independent schools. The Alternative and Catholic schools are located in areas which have slightly fewer married couples than other schools of their type.

In regard to household income, Elite I, Elite II, and Alternative schools are located in areas in which family incomes are higher than other independent schools. However, the Catholic school is located in an area that has lower income levels than areas housing other religious schools. Results for housing values are somewhat inconsistent with the income findings. The Elite I and Alternative schools are located in areas where the median rent and median housing values are higher than other independent schools whereas for the Elite II school these values are lower. As for the Catholic school the median rent and median housing value is higher than for other religious schools. These findings for Elite I and the Catholic school are probably due to the de facto segregated housing patterns in the city of Chicago. On the other hand, the property values of the areas surrounding the Alternative school are higher because of its close proximity to a major university.

With respect to educational attainment, the areas in which the Elite I and Alternative school are located have more individuals with higher education levels than other areas housing independent schools; however, the Elite II school has fewer. The Catholic school is located in an area where there are more individuals with higher education levels than areas housing other religious schools.

There are more private wage and salary workers in areas where the four study schools are located than in other areas housing schools of a similar type. Moreover, the area where the Alternative school is located has many more federal, state, local and self-employed workers. As for occupational categories there are more workers in health and other professions and education in the area that the Alternative school is located than in other independent school areas, whereas there are more individuals in financial jobs in the Elite I school area. The area in which the Catholic school is located has more individuals employed in health and other professions and finance than other areas housing religious schools, but fewer workers in manufacturing.

These results present a picture of the census tract areas in which the four schools are located. However, not all the families that were studied live in these areas. An analysis of the socioeconomic characteristics, including residential patterns, of the families is given in chapter 7. The census information for the Catholic school is somewhat misleading in respect to the socioeconomic characteristics of the families in the school. This census area encompasses several of the wealthiest blocks in the city of Chicago. Families living on these blocks do not send their children to the Catholic school in the sample (see chapter 7). Rather, the families in the Catholic school tend to come from blocks in the census tract which would be characterized as low income.

## Census Tract Comparison of Sample Schools With Local Schools Showing Increments and Non-Increments in Black Enrollment: 1970-1981

In addition to comparing the sample schools with schools of their type nationally and locally, each school was contrasted with those schools in the telephone survey (N=99) which showed increments (N=51) or no increments in black enrollments (N=45) over the past eleven years (The total for this analysis was 96 because two of the 99 schools opened after 1970, and one school had a decrease in black enrollment.). Increment was defined as 10 percent or better between 1970-81.

Two of four sample schools, Elite II and Alternative, tended to be in census tracts more similar to those areas housing schools with increments in black enrollment with respect to racial percentages, whereas the Elite I and Catholic schools more closely resembled the areas housing schools with no increments.

Insert Table 5-4

Table 5-4 indicates that the study schools are more like schools showing no increments in the average

## Table 5—4

### Community Census Data on Race and Number of Children for Four Newcomer Study Schools with Increments and Non-Increments in Black Enrollment, 1970-1981

| School Type | Alternative | Elite I | Elite II | Catholic | Sample Means<br>Schools with Increments | <br>Schools with No Increments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **RACE** | | | | | N = 51 | N = 45 |
| Whites | 2,911 | 6,716 | 2,385 | 4,854 | 1,822 | 3,358 |
| Blacks | 3,717 | 276 | 4,863 | 1,306 | 3,000 | 1,550 |
| Children (Ages 5-17) | | | | | | |
| Total | 731 | 276 | 1,834 | 527 | 1,257 | 965 |
| Whites | 109 | 247 | 388 | 265 | 262 | 488 |
| Blacks | 593 | 17 | 1,432 | 150 | 828 | 388 |

numbers of white persons in their census tract areas. Two are more like schools with increments (Alternative, Elite II), and two like schools with no increments (Elite I, Catholic), relative to the numbers of persons black. Further, Alternative and Elite II are more like schools showing increments in black enrollment relative to average ratios of black to white children in their census tracts; the other two (Elite I, Catholic) are most like schools showing no increments. Neighborhood racial increments alone do not account for changes in black enrollment in our study schools; rather, school policies regarding admissions and desegregation must be implicated.

## Summary

The four sample schools closely resemble schools of their type with respect to such school characteristics as enrollment, number of teachers, and teacher/pupil ratio, both nationally and locally. The exception is the Elite I school which has a significantly larger pupil enrollment.

Results pertaining to comparisons on local population characteristics indicate that the four schools are located in census tract areas of higher social status rank, using standard socioeconomic indices as criteria, but these tracts also seem to reflect the full range of socioeconomic diversity characteristic of the Chicago metropolitan area. The tracts of the 99 responding schools are somewhat unique in that they are more racially diverse by comparison to much of the city, which has historically followed a more de facto segregated residential housing pattern (Spears, 1967; Chicago Urban League, 1980).

Two of the four study schools (Elite II, Catholic) show percentages increments in black enrollment between 1970 to 1980, while two (Elite I, Alternative) do not. The city of Chicago as a whole shows increments in black student enrollment in private schools during this same period. However, increments in individual schools are regulated by both population composition and admission policies.

# Chapter 6

## Assessment and Data Collection

This chapter discusses the development of parent, administrator, teacher and parent leader interviews. It also discusses observations of children in schools, as well as child achievement, peer status, and self concept measures, and other obtained data sources. Finally, it discusses the data collection procedures and timetable.

### The Parents

### Rationale for Construction of the Parent Interview

The primary purpose of the parent interview is to determine why the black families have chosen to send their children to a private school. Preliminary survey research using a random sample of 54 inner city Catholic schools distributed throughout the nation, has been conducted (Cibulka et al., 1982). These schools were all Title I schools, and at least 70 percent minority (black, Hispanic). Of the 4,000 surveyed parents, 2,189 were black. Parents reported first that they sent their children to these schools in expectation of obtaining a better education for them. The goal of moral or religious instruction was reported by proportionately fewer parents; in fact, 53 percent of the sending black parents were Protestant, and 3 percent reported no religious affiliation. Only 20 percent of all queried parents reported negative, hostile feelings to public schools per se. Among these parents, 95 percent believed that their opinions mattered in their children's school, and many reported that the school was responsive to their preferences. The study provides a straight-forward answer to the why question in one private school context: private sectarian (Catholic). In the structured portion of this interview, some of the survey questions used in the Catholic Schools Report were replicated.

Fundamentally, however, the why question required an unstructured portion to the interview. People often do not fully analyze why they do what they do: the behavioral scientist must query them in a way that their reports of their experiences can be examined to provide a more thorough, in-depth answer to the why question. Before providing parents with alternative response categories, it is important to first identify how they construe their experiences. For example, what does a better education mean to these parents, how have they arrived at this concept, what specific sets of experiences, both in their own schooling experiences and lives, have contributed to the evolution of these views? How does their choice bear upon their perceptions of the children's future needs and lives, the life of the family, and so on. Trow (1957) observes that although interviewees will often distort directed questions, they can, by reporting their past and current experiences as well as future plans, give important information to aid the analysis of the decisions they have made, continue to make, and the attitudes they portray. The unstructured portion of interviews with parents was particularly crucial to understanding why they had chosen a private school.

Given the available literature on family processes in student achievement, including previous research on this topic with black parents of similar age public school students (Slaughter, 1977), the rationale for the initial parent interview was developed. Later, the results of two informal pilot interviews with private school parents whose children attended other than the four study schools and inputs from a school advisory board member contributed to the first of three parent interview drafts. The parent interview contains seven major sections: (a) General information on family composition, occupation, education, income, physical health, residence, and prior interviewing experience; (b) Family educational goals; (c) Parent participation in school; (d) Child socialization in school; (e) Child socialization at home; (f) Educational attitude survey, and (g) Interviewer comments about the interviewing experience, the family, the location of the household.

Section (a) obtains demographic information on both primary and secondary caregivers, parents' childhood backgrounds, current community affiliations, and amount of tuition paid per study child per family.

Section (b) on family educational goals, a major focus of the present report, is similar to earlier research (Slaughter, 1977) in that it obtains information on: (a) the primary and secondary caregivers' similar-aged schooling experiences, and particularly in comparison with those of the main study child, and (b) the primary caregiver's present academic and future academic and occupational expectations and aspirations for the child. Consistent with the aims of the present study, this section also obtains information on: (c) parental perceptions of how children learn and develop; (d) perceptions of the respective roles of teachers and parents in the child's learning; (e) perceptions of the role of the child's school in current family life; and (f) perceptions of the desirable qualities of any school. Information was also obtained on (g) the primary caregiver's own academic aspirations, and (h) any other schools attended by the child. A major purpose of obtaining this information was to inductively identify and describe all uniquely distinguishable response patterns present in the data. Appendix A contains the Coding Manual for Parental Educational Goals.

Section (c) focuses on understanding the different ways parents formally and informally participate in their children's schools. Information focused on parents' awareness of opportunities to participate, how parents actually participate, how the participation began, parents' evaluations of contraints on school participation and involvement, as well as what they learned about the school from participation. This section also addresses how parents get specific feedback from the school about their child's academic progress, a minimal form of school involvement experienced by all parents.

Sections (d)-(f) will not be discussed in this report. Section (d) focuses in detail on the primary caregiver's perceptions of how their child is socialized at the school, in the context of relations with teachers, learning activities, and mixed race peers. Section (e) focuses on the child's daily life at home and in the community, particularly how the parent perceives the neighborhood and family as contributing to the child's overall learning environment. In this section, parents of black children describe how the fact that the child is black enters, if it does, into their overall socialization goals and strategies. Section (f) includes a brief educational attitude survey developed and cross-validated (Slaughter, 1970) in earlier research. It was introduced for comparative purposes with this new parental population. Section (g) focuses on the interviewer's experiences with the family; it provides an additional perspective on the family and valuable information about the context in which the interview was conducted.

Development of the Parent Interview

The parent interview used in the study was developed in three phases. The first phase included the two very open-ended pilot interviews conducted in January, 1983. No specific questions were asked of the parents. Rather an informal conversation was held in which one investigator (Slaughter) talked with the mothers about her observations of her child's schooling, and the co-investigator (Schneider), and an assistant observed. The assistant recorded the emergent topical categories discussed in each instance and, following the approximately 1½ hour conversation, the co-investigator inquired directly on other topics thought important but not specifically mentioned by the interviewer. Both parents reported being nervous initially, but afterwards enjoying the experience of being heard. During this phase, Slaughter also had an extended three-hour conversation with one school advisory committee member about the ways in which parents can participate in private schools. This first phase was essentially a pilot phase which attempted to relate prior knowledge and experience in studying parenting factors in children's schooling and achievements to this particular study. The result was a preliminary parent interview draft as of April 1, 1983.

The second phase involved graduate and undergraduate students' use of the interview draft. Each student enrolled in a seminar on Families and Schools taught by both co-investigators in March-June, 1983 administered the draft to two parents of middle school age children selected by that student, and prepared written critiques of the draft that were discussed in class. Critiques focused on interview organization and style, question format and wording, information elicited by each included question, and administration time. Critiques of 16 pilot interviews were obtained from eight students, and a second draft of the interview constructed as of May 5, 1983. This draft was used by the first seven parent interviewers trained for the study in their two practice interviews. Staff and the interviewers themselves located parents for purposes of practice interviewing. Interviewee's children attended private and public schools. The interviewees were compensated for their time. This third phase resulted in final, minor modifications of the 2½ to 3 hour parent interview (average time = 3 hours, 15 minutes), distributed June 11, 1983 to parent interviewers. This interview is included in Appendix D.

## Reliability and Validity

Obtaining reliability of unstructured interview data involves both internal consistency and intercoder agreement. Co-investigators expect that interviewee responses to predetermined related questions will form a consistent profile; when interviews are completely coded 20 percent will be randomly selected for internal consistency checks. Investigators attempted to check all interviews during the early days of fieldwork so feedback could be given to interviewers.

Appendix A contains details of coding procedures used for Family Educational Goals. At least 10 percent of the obtained parent interviews will be recoded, using this manual. Intercoder agreement on classification would be satisfactory if 75 percent or better.

The validity of interview data is not primarily an issue of what respondents do, in contrast to what they say they do. Rather, validity refers primarily to whether the respondent faithfully represents reality as he or she sees it at the time. The sources of unfaithful representation or distortion lie primarily in interviewer and interviewee biases, both of which can be minimized through appropriate interviewer selection and training. If properly selected, the likelihood of understanding and rapport between interviewer and interviewee will thus be maximized.

The primary goals of the interviewer training sessions were to teach the interviewer: (a) how to introduce the interview, as well as the study, to the caregiver; (b) to emphasize the conversational, nonthreatening approach to be used throughout, but particularly in the unstructured portion, the interview; (c) to write down the verbatim statements of mothers, and (d) when and how to probe for clarification. Another goal of the training, of course, was to develop loyalties among the interviewing staff, both to the project as well as to one another. This enabled them to function as a team for the duration of their work. Reading transcriptions, listening to tapes of pilot interviews, role-taking among themselves, as well as receiving individual critiques of pilot interviews, were included in what was typically a two week training period. Each interviewer was compensated for training time. This was done per pilot interview and, based on previous research, by counting the total hours devoted to meeting time as the equivalent of four interviews or 10 hours stretched over the two week training period.

As another validity check, after each interview field interviewers provided written comments on the context of the interview, impressions of interviewee openness, behavior during the interview, and so on. During the actual coding research assistants did not know much about the school attended by the child of a given family. Further, most identifying information (e.g., names of schools, family members, etc.) was removed from the protocals before the research assistants viewed them.

Data Collection

Data were collected by thirteen female interviewers, ranging in age from 23 to 45, who were compensated on a per interview basis, plus travel costs. Each interview was estimated to involve four hours of work. Nine of the interviewers were black, and four were nonblack (three white Americans and one Asian). All but one nonblack interviewer had college degrees. This one interviewer had been a staff member since the study's inception, participating in phase one of the pilot work. Two of the nonblack interviewers were currently enrolled in graduate studies in the social sciences, as were two of the black interviewers. Two black interviewers had a child enrolled in private schools. All had prior interviewing experience. Most interviewers had a vested interest in the communities where the schools were located and in which parents were interviewed. Some lived near or in these communities; others were genuinely interested in the types of parents residing in the area who chose private schools for their children. This is important because parent interviews were conducted in the children's homes, and because each interviewer worked from a list of potential interviewees at the school to which she was assigned.

Interviewers of nonblack parents were instructed to obtain a maximum of 15 parents at each assigned school, to work from the fourth to seventh grades as of spring, 1983, and to attempt to obtain equivalent numbers between grade levels. Interviewers of black parents were given the same grade level instructions, but instructed to obtain as many interviews as they could within the time constraints of the study data collection period (June-November, 1983). They were permitted to interview parents of children in grades K-4 if necessary to fulfill quotas of 15-20 black respondents at each school. However, the higher grade level child's parents always had preference.

Prior to a phone contact at each home by the prospective interviewer, each school administrator sent notices to all elementary school parents encouraging their participation in the study (Parental consent forms for the interview and the study generally were completed at the private alternative and sectarian schools; these forms were collected at the time of the parent interview. However, administrators at the two private elite schools deemed the forms unnecessary). Appendix D contains copies of the additional instructions to each field interviewer.

Additional instructions included, with parental permission, cassette taping of the Family Educational Goals and Child Socialization in the home sections of the interview. Taping was conducted on the advice of project research advisory board members. The first section was taped because of its centrality to the study, and the second because of the possibility of interviewer-interviewee fatigue toward the end of the lengthy 3-hour session.

Table 6-1 lists the interviewers assigned by school for black and nonblack parents, the numbers of parents interviewed, and parents contacted but, for various reasons, not interviewed.

Insert Table 6-1

Black interviewers were assigned to black families, and nonblack interviewers to nonblack families. Oak Lawn was the most difficult site for which to recruit and staff because it was very far from Northwestern (60 Miles). St. August also posed difficulties because one black interviewer initially assigned to this site (NM) moved closer to the Oak Lawn area. Two new black interviewers (GH,LB) had to be hired and trained to cover this site in early fall, 1983.

The nonblack families in this study are not a random sample of families in each school. They are parents to children nominated by teachers as friendly to the black children. It was assumed that through middle childhood the school-age child's views still reflect parental influences

### Table 6-1

### Households Interviewed By School, Interviewer, and Race of Parents

| | Monroe (Alternative) | Oak Lawn (Elite II) | Roman (Elite I) | St. August (Catholic) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Interviewer** | | | | |
| Black | LW,SP,DJ | CR,NM | PW,SP,DJ | NM,RM,GH,LB |
| Nonblack | JG | RK,JM | JG | YSL |
| **Parents Interviewed** | | | | |
| Black | 22 | 16 | 15 | 21[a] |
| Nonblack | 15 | 13 | 15 | 15 |
| Total | 37 | 29 | 30 | 36 |
| **Parents Not Interviewed** | | | | |
| Black | 12 | 27 | 10 | 22 |
| Refused | 5 | 14 | 3 | 9 |
| Could Not Be Contacted | 7[b] | 13 | 7 | 13 |
| Nonblack | 21 | 53 | 42 | 23 |

[a] One unidentifiable (no names, just code numbers) interview was misplaced/ lost during coding; final N=20.

[b] These children were in grade 3 or above; an additional 15 families whose children were in grades K-2 were not contacted. Interviewers were discouraged from pursuing these families, once the quota of N=20 was reached.

to a greater extent than at later ages. Of course, there is considerably more child independence of parents and more influence of peers and other adults upon children's attitudes and behaviors than in the early childhood years (Collins, 1984). Obtained differences between the two groups of parents are especially notable because the nonblack parental lists at each school were generated to further maximize the possibility of similar attitudes between the groups, given that they already share many of the same contemporary socioeconomic characteristics.

Data in Table 6-1 indicate that a total of 132 parent interviews were conducted. Seventy-four were conducted with black parents, and 58 with nonblack parents. One black parent interview for a primary grade child was misplaced during coding, leaving 73 black parent interviews and a grand total of 131.

Table 6-1 also presents data on parents not interviewed at each school who were part of the original sample list submitted by schools in spring 1983. The names of all black students were submitted. Monroe, Roman, and St. August also submitted names of nonblack students friendly to black students in grades K-7, 1-7, and 1-7 respectively. At Oak Lawn, only names of students in grades 4-7 were submitted; further, the nonblack students were randomly chosen (every fifth child) from the list of available fourth to seventh graders, a procedure preferred by this school.

Nonblack households not contacted at each school essentially are those not contacted once the quota of N=15 was reached. However, the time allocated for fieldwork elapsed (5 months) before the quota N=15 could be reached at Oak Lawn. No records of refusal rates are available for nonblack families. However, impressions are that interviewers had little difficulty achieving cooperation from this population because interviewers did not complain of difficulties in this area at any of the schools. The part-time status of interviewers at Oak Lawn caused some difficulty in matching their schedules with those of families.

Some black families at each school refused when phoned. However, a number of others simply could not be contacted and it was decided to distinguish the two groups in Table 6-1. Families could not be contacted for a variety of reasons in order of greatest to least frequency: (a) unable to be scheduled prior to the fieldwork deadline; (b) no phone/wrong phone/phone disconnected; (c) child withdrawn from the school over summer, 1983, and so on. These families did not refuse to be interviewed. Full-time interviewers might well have reached a substantial number of them.

Table 6-2 presents data on how the 131 parent interviews were distributed by child grade level as of spring, 1983 and race of parent.

Insert Table 6-2

School observations in 1983-84 focused primarily on fourth to eighth graders at Monroe and St. August, given the smaller size of these schools. At Oak Lawn and Roman they focused on fifth to eighth graders. In spring, 1983 these children were enrolled in grades 3 through 7. Therefore, collected parent interviews are tallied for this group, separately from parents of children in grades K-2 in spring, 1983 (grades 1-3 in 1983-84). At each school siblings were present; Tables 6-1 and 6-2 emphasize number of households, rather than number of children.

Procedures for coding and analyzing parent interview data are discussed in either Appendix A or chapters in this report which focus on the results of the study.

## The School

The purpose of the school-based interviews is to examine the relationship between black families' educational goals and expectations and the educational goals and expectations of the school personnel. As discussed previously in chapter 4, the study examines not only what the families perceive the goals of the school to be, but also what the school envisions as its educational mission and how this is translated in the activities of the school. The school based interviews were constructed to examine as comprehensively as possible how the school defines and operationalizes its goals.

### Table 6-2

### Households Interviewed By School, Child Grade in Spring 1983 and Race of Parents

| School | Monroe (Alternative) | Oak Lawn (Elite II) | Roman (Elite I) | St. August (Catholic) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Grade 7** | | | | |
| Black | 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Nonblack | 1 | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| **Grade 6** | | | | |
| Black | 3 | 4 | 4 | 1 |
| Nonblack | 4 | 7 | 6 | 2 |
| **Grade 5** | | | | |
| Black | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
| Nonblack | 2 | 1 | 4 | 6 |
| **Grade 4** | | | | |
| Black | 3 | 6 | 3 | 2 |
| Nonblack | 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| **Grade 3** | | | | |
| Black | 1 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Nonblack | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| **Totals: Grades 3-7** | | | | |
| Black (59) | 15 | 16 | 14 | 14 |
| Nonblack (55) | 12 | 13 | 15 | 15 |
| **Grade 2** | | | | |
| Black | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3[a] |
| Nonblack | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Grade 1** | | | | |
| Black | 4 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| Nonblack | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Kindergarten** | | | | |
| Black | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| NonBlack | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| **Totals: Grades K-2** | | | | |
| Black (15) | 7 | 0 | 1 | 7 |
| Nonblack (3) | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

[a] One interview misplaced/lost

## Rationale for Construction of the School Interviews

There were two major concerns which guided the sample selection and content of the school interviews. With respect to sample selection the issue centered on who would best be able to articulate the goals of the school, administrators, teachers or other school personnel, (e.g., admissions officer, counselors and so on). As for content the issue centered on how much emphasis should be given to obtaining formal or informal measures of educational goals, organization and management and school participation in order to gain a valid understanding of the schools' mission. Reviews of several studies on effective and private schools helped to resolve these issues.

One of the emerging characteristics of a successful school is the presence of an effective and efficient building leader (Stallings, 1981; Gersten, Carnine & Green, 1982; MacKenzie, 1983). In a private school the headmaster or principal is responsible for a wide range of activities as he or she acts as both the superintendent and principal (Cookson, 1980). In addition to having complete responsibility for the financial management of the school, the headmaster or principal is also expected to fulfill the goals of the school by building a sense of commitment and guiding the school community to achieve those aims. Although, it is recognized that some individuals exercise leadership in a school, it is the headmaster/principal who is the key actor in setting, implementing and evaluating school policies. Recognizing the centrality of the headmaster's/principal's role in the school community, unstructured interviews were designed for the chief administrator at each of the four private schools.

One of the obvious differences between private and public schools is the student selection process (Kilgore, 1984). Unlike public schools, private schools have the right to accept or reject potential applicants. How schools and families enter into this process, has been nearly ignored in the private school research. Yet, it is clear that the admissions selection process is pivotal to understanding how schools and families begin to establish a bond of common goals. By interviewing the person responsible for the admissions process, it is possible to gain important insights into how goal consensus between the schools and families is initially formulated.

Perhaps, the most important actor in understanding how a school sets and accomplishes its goals is the teacher who has the ultimate authority for structuring the learning environment for each child. Several studies of private schools have examined teacher goals (Lightfoot, 1983; Cibulka et al., 1982). However,
none of these studies examined school goals from the perspective of the families, school administrator, and teachers.

Resources prohibited interviewing all of the teachers at each school. Consequently, the major problem with the teacher sample was establishing a criteria for selection.

All of the private schools emphasized a strong academic program. Therefore, the first criteria was to sample teachers who were responsible for skill areas i.e., English, reading, math, science and social studies in grades fifth through eighth. Upper grades were selected because it was in these classes that the school observations would be conducted. With respect to teacher tenure, an attempt was made to have an equal representation of teachers hired within the last five years and those employed in school longer than five years. This distribution allowed for an examination of how new teachers are socialized to the school as well as an opportunity to gain a historical perspective on the goals of the school. This was particularly important at Roman, because the headmaster had been hired the year previous to the beginning of this study. As for race, the plan was to interview all the black teachers, since there were so few black teachers at each school. An attempt was also made to equalize gender differences. The final criteria was to try and get a balance between those teachers who were education specialists and those whose undergraduate education was in a content specialization such as English, art or music.

The goal was to interview at least five teachers per school. If fifth through eighth grade teachers were not available, interviewers were instructed to contact teachers in the next grade below.

Another group of people important to understanding the schooling experience in a private school are the parent leaders. Actively involved in the life of a school, these parent leaders devote considerable time and resources to the operation of the school. During the administrator interviews, the headmaster/principal was asked to nominate three parent leaders in their school. Some of these persons may not now or ever have had children in the school, but in the administrator's view they are significant participants in the total school's culture.

Parent leader questions were edited from the parent interview schedule. The final schedule was completed in spring 1983 (see Appendix D for a copy of the Parent Leader Interview.).

As for the content of the interviews, the primary focus was to construct a core of questions which could be asked of families, administrators, and teachers pertaining to educational goals. In the Catholic Schools Report (Cibulka, et al., 1982), the data indicated that there is strong consensus regarding the schools mission of these inner city, sectarian private schools among parents and school staff. Recognizing that there are various types of private schools, the focus was to determine what the long and short range goals of the focal schools were, how much agreement existed among the staff and parents toward the goals and how the goals were articulated to the parents.

The report also indicated that teachers were willing to stay in Catholic schools despite low wages because of the "positive and constructive work relations at school" which included such items as "student cooperation, parent interest in the student's education, parental supervision of homework, parental trust in teachers judgement, good behavior of the students and the enjoyment of learning and competence and understanding on the part of administration (Cibulka, et al., 1982, pp. 26-27).

Erickson's study of Catholic schools in Canada (Erickson, 1982) also found a similiar sense of commitment among parents and teachers. Many of his respondents reported that the privately supported schools were more "special and enjoyed more consensus and collaboration" (Erickson, 1982 p. 395).

Considerable resources were used in the development of the parent interview schedule. After piloting and carefully reviewing the parent interview, it was decided to replicate a core set of questions among all study interview participants (i.e., administrators, admissions officer, teachers and parent leaders).

Parallel questions from several sections of the parent interviews were used in the school interviews. (Appendix E identifies all of the inter-interview question comparabilities.) The greatest number of overlapping questions focused on goals. Eighteen similiar questions were asked of parents and teachers, as there was a particular interest in matching specific questions in this area. It was suspected that the family goal type categories would also describe teacher goal types within the schools. Using the Parent Manual a research assistant categorized the teacher interviews according to the goal type described in the manual. Results of this process are discussed in chapter 8. Comparable goal questions were also asked between parents and parent leaders (N=6), parents and administrators (N=3) and administrators and admissions personnel (N=2).

The next largest number of overlapping questions centered on parent participation in the schools. School participation, that is how parents become aware, involved, and feel as if they belong to the school community was a major area of investigation in this study. Participation questions were designed to learn how the parents and the other school personnel perceive the role and meaning of their interaction in the life of the school. The greatest overlap in questions occurs between the parents and parent leaders (N=18). As indicated previously, the parent leader interviews were specifically designed to examine participation in schools and was derived from the parent interviews. Comparable participation questions were also asked between parents and teachers (N=8), teachers and parent leaders (N=6) and parents and administrators (N=4).

Another important area in which comparable questions were asked of all interview participants concerned racial and ethnic identity issues. All study interviewed participants were asked about the importance of the school to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity for its students.

In addition to goals, and participation, issues pertaining to organizational management were also explored with the parents and school faculty. The organizational management questions were designed to learn how the goals were operationalized in the school. Question overlap in this area tended to be restricted to parents and teachers. This is because these questions while similiar in intent were constructed differently for the administrators and teachers because of the variation in their respective responsibilities.

In each of the areas of the interview goals, organizational management and participation, the boundaries of investigation were drawn around those topics directly related to student achievement, inclusion and self concept racial identity. For example, an administrator may state that a consensual goal of the school is to have all students, including black students, reading above grade level.

For each of the school personnel interviewed in the study, a series of demographic questions on education and occupational experiences such as number of years teaching in private school, number of years in present position, highest degree, area of specialization were also constructed.

## Pilot Interviews

A series of pilot interviews were conducted in the construction of the final interview school protocols. As for the administrator interview schedule, a pilot interview was conducted by one of the principal investigators (Schneider) and a private school administrator, who was not part of this study. The questions used in this pilot interview were taken from the parent interview schedule, and a private school study which was undertaken at Northwestern University (Private Schools Report, 1981) for the development of a private school teacher training program. Specific questions asked only of administrators centered on their role in staff hiring and evaluation and relations with the board of trustees. Results of the administrator pilot were critiqued and reviewed by the research team. The final interview schedule was developed in spring 1983 (see Appendix D for a copy of the administrator Interview.).

The admissions interview schedule was also piloted by one of the principal investigators (Schneider) and an admissions officer at a local private school. Questions in the admissions interview pertaining to goals were similar to administrator and parent interviews. Specific questions asked only of admissions officers focused on the admissions process; minority student recruitment, application procedures, including testing, school visits, criteria for awarding scholarships, and financial aid packages. Detailed questions on the admissions process were developed after reviewing several documents distributed by National Association of Independent Schools and conferring with several private school admissions officers. As in the instance of the administrator interview, the research team reviewed the pilot interview. The final schedule was completed in spring of 1983 (see Appendix D for a copy of the admissions interview.).

Development and piloting of the teacher protocols followed a somewhat different procedure than the other school interviews. One of the principal investigators conducted an unstructured interview with two different private school teachers. The questions in the trial interview included some of the goal questions in the parent and administrator interviews. However, with respect to organizational management and participation the questions focused on how goals were actualized in the classroom. The intent was not to learn only about formal school policies but to gain an understanding of how the teacher perceives his or her classroom. Prototypes for these process questions were taken from Leacock (1969) and Schneider (1979).

After reviewing the results of the unstructured interview, a pilot structured teacher schedule was developed. In a graduate seminar Families and Schools, which the two principal investigators taught spring, 1983, this pilot teacher protocol was distributed. Each graduate student was instructed to contact at least two private school teachers and conduct the interview. A random list of private school teachers in the Chicago area was compiled from which they could select their participants. Students were also encouraged to find additional private school teachers.

The students were expected to contact the teacher by telephone to set up an appointment to conduct the interview. The place for the interview was to be negotiated between the student and teacher. However, the student was informed to select a site for the interview that was convenient to the teacher, such as his or her home or classroom.

Results of these pilot interviews were critiqued and discussed in class. Most of the problems with the interview protocol involved organization and syntax. Suggestions from the class and research team were incorporated into the final teacher interview which was completed in late spring of 1983 (see Appendix D for a copy of the teacher interview).

Data Collection

The original plan was to complete all of the school interviews before fall of 1983. This however, was not possible because of several complications which arose in the conduct of the interviews.

The procedures for the administrator interviews, was that the two co-principal investigators would conduct the interviews at each of the school sites. One of the investigators would have primary responsibility for asking the questions, the other would act as a troubleshooter focusing on areas that needed to be explored in more detail. The interviews would be taped and last approximately one and a half hours.

The first interview was conducted at Roman in early summer and proceeded according to the original plan. During the summer, the headmaster of Oak Lawn was interviewed. In that session the headmaster was joined by his assistant principal for part of the time. The assistant principal was interviewed by one of the investigators at a later time. The St. August administrator interview was also conducted during the summer, and proceeded as expected. The Monroe interview took three separate sessions to complete and lasted six hours. During the last session, the investigators switched their roles.

All of the administrator interviews were transcribed. A copy of his or her transcribed interview was sent to each administrator.

The admissions interviews were also conducted on site and lasted approximately one and a half hours. During the summer of 1983, the admissions interview was conducted at Oak Lawn by a private school administrator familiar with the admissions process. Because of this interviewer's insights, he was also invited to conduct the admissions interview at Roman. These interviews were taped.

At St. August and Monroe, there was not a specific person who was solely responsible for admissions. Admissions is a shared responsibility in the context of other school duties to be performed (e.g., teaching, administration). At St. August, the parish priest has a role in the admissions process and was subsequently interviewed by the parent leader interviewer. (This interview was taped.) At Monroe, the admissions process is the responsibility of the assistant principal, who was interviewed by one of the principal investigators (Slaughter). This interview was taped and transcribed. Although Oak Lawn has a person who was identified as an admissions officer, in actuality her role was primarily clerical. Consequently, admissions questions were also asked of several staff.

The teacher interviews were also scheduled to be conducted in summer of 1983. However, vacation and summer school schedules required several of the interviews to be conducted at school during fall at the teachers' free period. Teacher interviews were taped with teacher permission. In the administrator interviews, the administrators were asked to identify those teachers that symbolized the schools' goals. The names of these teachers were checked against the teacher interview criteria (i.e., grade level, subject area, length of service, race, gender, area of specialization). Information on the interview criteria was obtained from school secretaries. Interviewers were instructed to try and first interview the nominated persons who met the criteria. One school (St. August) had fewer than ten teachers; therefore, all of them were interviewed.

Teacher interviewers were post bachelor's degree recipients who had experience working with teachers in private schools. Because of the experiences of the interviewers, formal interview training programs were not conducted.

By fall of 1984, the following school interviews were completed.

Insert Table 6-3

As shown in Table 6-3, all of the administrator interviews were completed. With respect to admissions, only Roman School had a full-time admissions officer. At Oak Lawn, the person nominated as the admissions officer, had little authority in the process and performed mainly clerical duties. Admission responsibilities were accomplished by a teacher who also had other administrative duties. At Monroe the individual responsible for admissions, as in instance of Oak Lawn, also had other administrative and teaching obligations. Admissions at St. August were conducted by the principal. However, the parish priest had the final authority in determining scholarship recipients.

Only at Roman and Monroe were we able to fulfill our goal of three interviews. At Roman this task was not difficult because of the number of nominations which reflects in some part the size of the board of trustees. Monroe, has a history of active parent participation, so it is not surprising that three parents were interviewed. However, although the school is nearly 50 percent black, not one of the nominated parent leaders were black. Oak Lawn's distance from Northwestern, contributed to the small number of parent leaders interviewed. Three nominations were

Table 6-3

Completed School Interviews

| Persons Interviewed | School | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Monroe | Oak Lawn | Roman | St. August | Total |
| Administrators | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 4 |
| Admissions | 1[a] | 1 | 1 | 1[a] | 4 |
| Teachers | 5 | 9[b] | 7 | 7 | 28 |
| Parent Leaders<br>(Non-Parent Leader) | 3 | 2[c] | 3 | 0<br>(1)[d] | 8<br>(1) |
| TOTALS | 10 | 13 | 12 | 10 | 45 |

[a] Admission responsibilities are shared with other responsibilities. At Monroe, this person has other administrative and teaching responsibilities. At St. August, the parish priest acts as the final authority in the admissions process.

[b] One of the teachers in this school also has administrative and admission responsibilities.

[c] One of the parents was identified by the school as a parent leader. However, this family was contacted in the parent interview process and completed the full parent interview schedule. The family is included here to indicate that more than one parent leader was interviewed.

[d] Connected with the parish. Confers with parents and school over matters pertaining to child's religious education.

received, but as indicated on the table one of the parents was contacted in the parent interview process and completed the full parent interview. At St. August, only one parent was nominated as an active member of the school, who at the time was president of the parents club. This club functioned as a social group, so the parent was actually not involved in school policy (This parent did complete the full parent interview.) The Director of Religious Education, however, is actively involved with the parents and the school. Although he had no children, according to the principal he epitomized the spirit of St. August.

As for the teachers at least five teachers were interviewed per school. How these teachers met the criteria (discussed previously in this chapter) is shown in Table 6-4.

Insert Table 6-4

As for the grade criteria, all of the teachers at St. August who taught fifth grade and above were interviewed. A random sample of teachers from grades fifth through eighth were interviewed at Roman. This was not difficult because of the size of the Roman faculty. Although the size of the Oak Lawn faculty was also large, interview problems with this school (discussed previously) forced the interviewers to go below fifth grade. At Monroe, which is also small like St. August, the number of teachers above fourth grade

## Table 6-4

## Characteristics of Teachers Interviewed

N=29[a]

| | Characteristics | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Grade | | Area of Specialization | | | | | Race | | Gender | | Total |
| School | Below 4th | 5th-8th | English | Math | Science | Social Studies | Other[b] | Black | NonBlack | Female | Male | |
| Oak Lawn | 1 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 3[c] | 1 | 1 | 1[e] | 8 | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| Roman | - | 7 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Monroe[d] | 3 | 3 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 2 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 6 |
| St. August[d] | 5 | 2 | - | - | - | - | 1 | 0 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 7 |

[a] Individual listed as the admissions person in the preceding table is included here as she also had teaching responsibilities. Both admissions and teacher interviews were administered.

[b] Other category includes: Counselor (Roman), Language (Oak Lawn), Reading Specialist (Monroe, St. August)

[c] One of these teachers, is responsible for 9th-10th grade science instruction.

[d] In these schools classroom teachers are responsible for instruction in nearly all subject areas.

[e] Two other black teachers, also parents, were administered the parent interview.

actually represents a large proportion of the faculty. Two of the teachers below fourth grade were black. As for areas of specialization, in all schools, all skill areas were covered. With respect to race four black teachers were interviewed. There were no black teachers at St. August. At Oak Lawn, the black teacher taught ninth and tenth grade science. Although she was in the high school, as the only black teacher on the faculty, we altered the criteria to obtain that interview. At Roman, there were three other black teachers in addition to the one interviewed. Two of these three teachers received the parent interview as they had children in the school. One of the black teachers choose not to complete the interview.

## The Children, Their Teachers and Peers

### School Observations

During the 1983-84 academic year school based narrative observations were conducted in the four participating schools by each co-principal investigator and two research associates. Table 6-5 depicts the scope of these observations, which covered a total of 135 half days. Observations were not limited to fourth-eighth grade classrooms. Observers went to special all-school events and to graduation. They also

Insert Table 6-5

## Table 6-5

## School Observations Completed

## 1983-84 Academic Year

| | Observation Periods | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | September-October 1983 | December 1983-January 1984 | February-March 1984 | April-May 1984 |
| Observer 1 School Type: (Alternative) | 10 days[a] | 10 | 10 | 5 |
| Observer 2 School Type: (Elite I) | 10 | 10 | 10 | 5 |
| Observer 3 School Type: (Elite II) | 10 | 10 | 10 | - |
| Observer 4 School Type: (Sectarian) | 10 | 10 | 10 | 5 |
| TOTALS | 40 | 40 | 40 | 135 days |

[a] Each observation day usually lasted four hours.

followed the routine of the class on the particular day they observed, whether that included, for example, gym, swimming, a visit to the symphony or a local museum. A Field Manual which was prescriptive of how each observer was to work was developed prior to October, 1983 when fieldwork began. This 30-page Manual is presented in Appendix C, while the background to receiving permission to conduct this extensive work in the schools is presented in Appendix B.

The primary purpose of these observations was to determine how the goals of the school were realized in the lives of the attending black middle school age children. Ethnographers wanted to learn about the school cultures into which the children were socialized from the vantage point of the experiences of the children themselves. They focused upon the kinds of academic experiences offered to the black children, their opportunities for enhancing their self esteem and awareness of themselves as black persons, and the extent to which the children were included with their nonblack peers in the ongoing activities of each school. Of course, within the classroom the teacher's goals, and style of organization and management for realizing these goals, are very important defining aspects of the children's actual experiences. They create an environmental structure in which students participate. For this reason, the interactions of focal black children with their teachers and peers were especially important to the observations.

Fifty-six focal black children were randomly chosen from lists of prospective fifth- eighth grade children in the summer of 1983. Fourteen children were predesignated at each school. Observers had the option to substitute focal children when appropriate. For example, there may be a black student who was not selected for the observer as a focal child who emerges as class president, a straight "A" student, and a member of the basketball team. The observer was expected to use her own judgment in making substitutions that would enhance knowledge of the full range of experiences of children in these school cultures. The principal investigators randomly chose children for all but her own school.

Actual procedures for conducting and writing the observations are described in the Manual (see Appendix C); the reliability and validity of the observations are also discussed.

Child Measures

In May 1984, academic achievement test results in reading and mathematics were obtained from as many black and nonblack fifth to eighth grade students as possible. Monroe and St. August use the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills, while Oak Lawn and Roman use the Stanford Achievement Tests. Results of data analyses, and of the numbers of children for whom these fall, 1983 test data were collected are reported in chapter 10.

Also in May, 1984, fifth-eighth grade teachers administered Susan Harter's Perceived Competence Scale for Children. This measure of self esteem (What I Am Like) is theoretically-based (Harter, 1981, 1982 ), and well-standardized with middle school age children. Self esteem is evaluated in six areas: (a) cognitive competence, (b) social competence, (c) athletic competence, (d) perceived body appearance, (e) perceived general conduct, and general self esteem. Administration time is 15 minutes.

Finally, teachers also administered a 10 minute Self-descriptor Inventory prepared for this study to supplement information obtained from the Harter Scale. It included (a) having the child describe himself/herself and (b) reporting how, if it were to disappear, someone who replaced it would have to act around school so that no one would know he/she had gone. The two questions are adapted from the Harvard Pathways Project (Pathways to identity, 1971) conducted some years ago with early adolescents. The inventory also asked each student to evaluate how good a student he/she is on a five-point scale which ranged from: "One of the best students in my grade" to "Near the bottom of my grade." Finally, each student was asked three questions adapted from the researches of Cohen-Esquilin (1979) and Rabinowitz (1974).

These questions asked the student to name three kids in his/her grade he or she would like to study with, would like to be with, or who can get him or her to do things. Each child's peer status could be computed from the obtained data. As with the academic achievement tests, scoring procedures and results of the analyses of the Harter Scale and the Self-Descriptor Inventory are discussed in chapter 10.

School Documents

Various written documents were collected from all the schools. Pertaining to ongoing school activities, the following items were collected, student, parent and faculty handbooks, policy statement on student conduct, school newsletters, school calendars, and summer school programs. At two of the schools, Monroe and Roman, speeches and reports given to the board of trustees were obtained. Packets given to potential families and tuition information were received from admissions personnel. Special materials prepared for commerative events were also collected. These items included, reports of school anniversary celebrations, fund raising activities and school assembly programs. Graduation programs were obtained from all the schools.

## Summary

This chapter described assessment and data collection procedures used in the study, Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools. A rationale for each type of assessment used in this ethnographic study has been offered. Parents, administrators, admissions personnel, teachers, and fifth-eighth grade students were independently queried. Child interviews were not conducted, but self concept measures were administered and academic achievement data obtained from school records. To further pinpoint each school's philosophy, school documents were routinely collected by school observers. Finally, a minimum of 30 days of observations were conducted in 1983-84 at each of the four schools.

Assessments were designed to answer two research questions: Why do black parents send their children to private schools, and what are the experiences of the black children in the schools? In order to address both questions, a holistic assessment and description of the school environments were conducted. Chapters 7-8 present data on parental characteristics and parental educational goals; chapter 9 discusses school goals at each of the four schools from the perspectives of key school personnel and available school documents. Subsequent chapters (10-12) present the results of student assessments and observations of children in schools.

## Chapter 7

## The Black and Nonblack[1] Families in Four Chicago Private Schools

### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe who the families of the black and nonblack children in this study are, using traditional socioeconomic and sociopsychological indices. Parental education, occupation, and income status are discussed. In addition to other background and attitudinal indices, parental educational aspirations, expectations, and minimal educational attainment standards for children are described. Finally, attitudes toward private schooling, desegregation, and racial and ethnic diversity in schools are described.[2]

### Chicago: A City of Race and Class Contrasts

Chicago is a city of contrasting neighborhoods. There are 77 identifiable community areas that cluster similar neighborhoods within the city. Each of the four study schools is located within a distinctively different neighborhood.

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[1] The "Nonblack" group includes families of white, Asian and Hispanic backgrounds. Over 90%, however, were white American.

[2] Sample sizes vary somewhat throughout the chapter for several reasons: (a) interviewer omitted question; (b) parental response incomplete or unclear; (c) parental refusal to comment. The maximum N=131 respondents. In addition, data in Tables 7-2 to 7-5, 7-11 are reported only for those instances in which mothers (N=122) are primary caregivers. Data for all primary caregivers follow the pattern of these presented data. Data in other tables refer to as many of the 131 respondents as possible.

By custom, two community areas are combined in discussions of the neighborhoods in which three of the four study schools are located.

Based on 1980 U.S. Census data three of the 12 wealthiest urban neighborhoods in the nation are located in Chicago, although in contrast some of the very poorest neighborhoods are also in Chicago. Many of the poorest community areas are predominantly black. There is every indication that the wealthier neighborhoods are becoming more affluent, while the poor ones are becoming even poorer (Zotti, 1984). Some authors (e.g., Wilson, 1974) have found this to be a historical national trend.

Racial segregation in housing has a long history in Chicago. Beginning with the occupation of small southern and western residential pockets in the city, black families gradually desegregated the residential communities of nonblack families on a block-by-block basis, particularly during and after World War II (Spear, 1967; Taub, 1984). Nonblacks tended to move away. Because of this history, many middle- and upper-income blacks also reside in predominantly black community areas. As a byproduct of the housing patterns, many neighborhood schools are racially segregated.

## The Racial Residential Patterns of Families at Each School

The community areas in which each of the four study schools are located are desegregated (see Chapter 5). However, this does not necessarily mean that the community areas from which the schoolchildren originate are desegregated. In order to better understand, from an ecologial perspective, the patterns of race relations within each of the study schools, each family household on the study sample list, whether or not parents were interviewed, was located on a map of Chicago Community Areas. Table 7-1 presents these data; numbers in parentheses designate the total numbers of children living in these households according to the sample lists provided by each school.

Table 7-1

Number of Households Located Inside and Outside the Identified Chicago Community Areas of Each School

| | Family Resides Inside of School Community Area(s) | | Family Resides Outside of School Community Area(s) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Race | Black | Nonblack | Black | Nonblack |
| School | | | | |
| Monroe | 20<br>(23) | 30<br>(33) | 33<br>(35) | 6<br>(6) |
| Oak Lawn | 15<br>(15) | 13<br>(14) | 30<br>(30) | 53<br>(56) |
| Roman | 4<br>(5) | 44<br>(45) | 22<br>(27) | 13<br>(13) |
| St. August | 41<br>(48) | 28<br>(41) | 4<br>(4) | 10<br>(14) |

Note: Households, rather than children, were used as the basic units of analysis for this table. Numbers of children in these households are listed in parentheses.

St. August (Catholic) is possibly the most truly "neighborhood school." The majority of households of attending children, black and nonblack, is located within the school's community area. Among nonblacks in particular, several children from the same household attend this school. In contrast, at Oak Lawn (Elite II), the majority of households of attending children, black and nonblack, is located outside of the two community areas with which this school is identified. Data indicate that the majority of nonblacks come from relatively distant surrounding southern and western suburban areas. Blacks, in contrast, tend to reside in more affluent, predominantly black, census tract areas within the southern and eastern regions of the city. Other blacks come from heavily black, and some nonblack, suburban communities. Oak Lawn does not depend upon its immediate school community areas for its student population.

At Monroe (Alternative) the picture is different. Blacks at Monroe are almost as likely to come from inside the school's community areas as from outside. However, nearly all nonblacks at Monroe come from inside those areas. Therefore, black and nonblack children at Monroe are more likely to share a common residential community than black and nonblack children at Oak Lawn. In this respect thay are similar to the children at St. August, with two important distinctions: (a) the majority of Monroe's black children live further south, outside the school's community areas, in predominantly black neighborhoods, and (b) many more nonblack members of the same family attend St. August.

Roman (Elite I) presents yet another distinctive pattern. The majority of nonblack children live inside the school's community areas, and the majority of black children do not. It is similar to Monroe in this respect. However, unlike Monroe, over five times as many represented black households are located outside of the school's community areas. At Roman, as at Monroe and St. August, but not Oak Lawn, parents of children in grades K-8 were interviewed.

Black and nonblack children typically do not share the same residential communities at Monroe, Oak Lawn, and Roman. However, at Oak Lawn the majorities of both groups of children reside outside the school's community areas, but at Monroe a substantial proportion of the black children shares the same residential community with the school itself and other nonblack children.

The implications of these findings will be discussed throughout this report. In chapter 8 data showing significant school and racial differences in parental educational goals are presented. The data must be interpreted in the context of the current life styles of the children's families. Schools are influenced by, and also influence, the community areas in which they are located (Ogbu, 1974, 1981). A black family living in the school's community areas may be more likely to share similar educational aims, with the school and nonblack families also living in that area, than a black family living elsewhere. Further, a black family living in an all-black community that chooses to send its child outside of that community to a desegregated school is likely to have a different view of education from one that lives inside the school's desegregated community areas. Of course, this is also true of nonblack families.

In addition, each school has a different type of organizational challenge to its identity. Oak Lawn must create a holistic school community largely with outsiders to the school's community areas. Roman must cope with a race-related insider-outsider problem. Monroe must integrate at least two different black groups, one of which is intimately familiar with the school's community areas and the other of which may not be. The former would be more likely to have closer ties with nonblack pupils and their families; the latter could have to work harder to establish intimacy with the overall school community. Finally, though a neighborhood school, St. August must cope with pervasive family ties among nonblack pupils. Ties to family members at school could be competitive with needed school loyalties, thus making it difficult to establish and maintain cross-racial or cross-ethnic relationships among students in an otherwise ideal setting.

Optimal learning environments in these desegregated schools can only be established if these potential sources of conflict between families of children within the schools are overcome. In chapter 10 data indicative of high average black and nonblack student achievement and self concept at each school are presented. Chapters 9 and 11-12 point to ways in which unity of educational purpose is achieved between parents, school faculty, and children. Another basis for both conflict and cooperation is found within the socioeconomic status and family structural characteristics of the black and nonblack parents themselves. This chapter presents data on this topic.

### Parental Education, Occupation, and Income

During the study it was useful to distinguish between primary and secondary caregivers. Mothers were typically primary caregivers; fathers were typically secondary caregivers (i.e., the persons designated by mothers as helping most with child care). However, there was variability. For example, 92.4% of primary caregivers were mothers (*N*=121). However, 6.1% of the primary caregivers were fathers (*N*=8), and .8% each were either maternal aunt (*N*=1) or older sibling (*N*=1). Similarly, 63.1% of the secondary caregivers were fathers (*N*=82), 6.9% grandmothers (*N*=9), 4.6% older siblings (*N*=6), 5.4% other relatives except mother (*N*=7; e.g., maternal aunt, grandfather), 2.3% mothers (*N*=3), and

9.2% other nonrelatives ($N$=12; e.g., housekeeper, neighbor, babysitter). In this chapter, background data will be presented for the most typical caregivers, mothers (including maternal aunt) and fathers. However, the child care arrangements of parents are quite varied. The most consistent figure in all children's lives is the mother: 87.8% of the primary caregivers, most of whom were mothers, said they were the one woman (person) responsible for the child's care since its birth.

The variation in child care arrangements does not result in diminished paternal influence. Two interviewing experiences are illustrative. Though only the primary caregiver was required to take the interview, in 21 instances fathers voluntarily participated with mothers. Nearly all mothers consulted with fathers prior to agreeing to participate. Given these observations, it was decided to include all available background information on fathers, whether or not they resided in the child's household.

Education

Table 7-2 presents data on mother's education by school and race. Two-way analyses of variance indicate no significant interactions ($F(3,121)=2.31, p=.08$), and no significant main effect for race ($F(1,121)=0.05, p=.82$). However, there is a significant main effect for school ($F(3,121)=13.66, p=.001$).

Table 7-2

Maternal Years of Education by School and Race

| | Black | | | Nonblack | | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | SD | N | M | SD | N | M | SD | N |
| School | | | | | | | | | |
| Monroe[a] | 16.2 | 2.42 | 21 | 18.1 | 1.80 | 13 | 16.9 | 2.37 | 34 |
| Oak Lawn | 17.2 | 2.49 | 16 | 16.1 | 2.92 | 12 | 16.7 | 2.71 | 28 |
| Roman | 16.7 | 1.63 | 15 | 16.7 | 2.86 | 15 | 16.7 | 2.29 | 30 |
| St. August[b] | 13.7 | 1.74 | 18 | 13.2 | 3.46 | 12 | 13.5 | 2.53 | 30 |
| Total | 15.9 | 2.48 | 70 | 16.1 | 3.25 | 52 | 16.0 | 2.82 | 122 |

Note: Refers to all mothers identified as Primary Caregivers

[a] At Monroe, one nonblack mother was identified as a Secondary Caregiver; the number of years of education is 19.0.

[b] At St. August, two mothers, one black and one nonblack, were identified as Seondary Caregivers; the number of years of education is 13.0 for the black mother. No information was available for the nonblack mother.

Mothers at St. August have, on average, fewer years of education than mothers at other schools. Mothers at other schools are more likely to have completed college, whereas mothers at St. August have completed about 1½ years of college.

Table 7-3 presents similar data for fathers in homes where mothers are primary caregivers (N=122). In addition to distinctions by child's school and race, the data are grouped according to whether or not fathers live in the home and, if they do, the exact nature of their caregiving role to the study child.

Fathers who are absent from households, or who serve as primary caregivers, tend to have the fewest years of education in both races. In both races, fathers present in households tend to have finished college, in comparison with fathers absent from households. As with mothers, two-way analyses of variance indicate no significant interactions ($\underline{F}(3,80) = 0.58$, $\underline{p} = .63$), and no significant main effects for race ($\underline{F}(1,80) = 0.34$, $\underline{p} = .56$). However, there is a significant main effect (using only the father present, secondary caregiver group) for school ($\underline{F}(3,80) = 4.17$, $\underline{p} = .009$). Fathers at St. August have, on average, fewer years of education than fathers as a group; fathers at Oak Lawn and Roman, in particular, have more. Nonblack fathers, particularly those not designated as secondary caregivers who do live with their child, have the highest average level of education. Possibly, the perceived demands of their occupations limit their availability for child care support. Importantly, data in Tables 7-2 and 7-3 suggest that in both races, at all schools, mothers and fathers appear equally well-educated.

Insert Table 7-3

Table 7-3

Paternal Years of Education by Residence with Child, Caregiving Status, School and Race

| | Father Present, Secondary Caregiver | | Father Present, Not Secondary | | Father Absent | | Father Present, Primary Caregiver | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **School** | | | | | | | | |
| **Monroe** | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 15.1<br>(10) | 3.81 | 15.3<br>(3) | 1.15 | 16.2<br>(8) | 3.24 | 20.0<br>(1) | 0.00 |
| Nonblack | 17.2<br>(12) | 4.63 | 21.0<br>(1) | 0.00 | 22.0<br>(1) | 0.00 | 15.5<br>(2) | 3.54 |
| Total | 16.3<br>(22) | 4.32 | 16.8<br>(4) | 2.98 | 16.8<br>(9) | 3.59 | 17.8<br>(3) | 5.10 |
| **Oak Lawn** | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 17.2<br>(15) | 3.98 | 15.0<br>(1) | 0.00 | 16.0<br>(2) | 4.24 | -<br>- | - |
| Nonblack | 16.9<br>(11) | 3.94 | 22.0<br>(1) | 0.00 | 18.0<br>(1) | 0.00 | 12.0<br>(1) | 0.00 |
| Total | 17.1<br>(26) | 3.89 | 18.5<br>(2) | 4.95 | 16.7<br>(3) | 3.21 | 12.0<br>(1) | 0.00 |
| **Roman** | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 19.1<br>(9) | 2.62 | 22.0<br>(1) | 0.00 | 16.2<br>(4) | 3.30 | -<br>- | - |
| Nonblack | 18.6<br>(12) | 1.88 | 22.0<br>(1) | 0.00 | 18.0<br>(2) | 2.82 | -<br>- | - |
| Total | 18.8<br>(21) | 2.18 | 22.0<br>(2) | 0.00 | 16.8<br>(6) | 2.99 | - | - |
| **St. August** | | | | | | | | |
| Black | 13.7<br>(7) | 5.22 | -<br>- | - | 12.0<br>(1) | 0.00 | 14.5<br>(2) | 0.71 |
| Nonblack | 14.6<br>(5) | 2.40 | 13.5<br>(2) | 2.12 | 9.3<br>(3) | 4.62 | 10.0<br>(2) | 2.83 |
| Total | 14.0<br>(12) | 4.14 | 13.5<br>(2) | 2.12 | 10.0<br>(4) | 4.00 | 12.2<br>(4) | 3.11 |

Table 7-3 (cont.)

| | Father Present, Secondary Caregiver | | Father Present, Not Secondary | | Father Absent | | Father Present, Primary Caregiver | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Grand Total** | | | | | | | | |
| **Black** | 16.5<br>(41) | 4.23 | 16.6<br>(6) | 3.13 | 15.9<br>(15) | 3.17 | 16.3<br>(3) | 3.22 |
| **Nonblack** | 17.2<br>(40) | 3.62 | 18.4<br>(5) | 4.62 | 14.8<br>(7) | 6.09 | 12.6<br>(5) | 3.58 |
| **All** | 16.9<br>(81) | 3.93 | 17.5<br>(11) | 3.84 | 15.6<br>(22) | 4.19 | 14.0<br>(8) | 3.74 |

Occupation

The 1980 U.S. Census code was used to classify occupations, as well as the related industry in which the occupation was pursued. These data are presented in Tables 7-4 and 7-5. Table 7-4 indicates that the majority of black (60%) and nonblack (42%) working mothers engage in either professional or executive/managerial/administrative occupations. Importantly, in both races, mothers usually work outside the home. Only 15.9% of black mothers (N=11), and 35.2% of nonblack mothers (N=19) do not work outside their homes. However, twice as many black than nonblack mothers work outside the home.

Insert Table 7-4

Similar results are obtained for fathers. Considering the largest group of fathers, those who also serve as secondary caregivers, 64.3% of the blacks and 71.0% of the nonblacks engage in professional or executive/administrative/managerial occupations. The least amount of information was available for fathers absent from households; however, among both races these fathers also tend to have professional or executive/administrative/managerial occupations.

Table 7-5 presents data on the industries, if information

Table 7-4

Occupational Classification, by Race, of Working Mothers and Fathers

| | Mothers | | | | | | Fathers[a] | | | | | | Fathers[b] | | | | | | Fathers[c] | | | | | | Fathers[d] | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B | | NB | | T | | B | | NB | | T | | B | | NB | | T | | B | | NB | | T | | B | | NB | | T | |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| | 58 | 63.0 | 34 | 37.0 | 92 | 100 | 3 | 42.8 | 4 | 57.2 | 7 | 100 | 42 | 52.5 | 38 | 47.5 | 80 | 100 | 5 | 50.0 | 5 | 50.0 | 10 | 100 | 14 | 82.4 | 3 | 17.6 | 17 | 100 |
| Census Occupational Category | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Executive/ Administrative/ Managerial | 10 | 17.2 | 7 | 20.6 | 17 | 18.5 | | | 1 | 25.0 | 1 | 14.3 | 7 | 16.7 | 11 | 28.9 | 18 | 22.5 | 2 | 40.0 | 1 | 20.0 | 3 | 30.0 | 4 | 28.6 | 1 | 33.3 | 5 | 29.4 |
| 2. Professional Speciality Occupations | 32 | 55.2 | 20 | 58.9 | 52 | 56.5 | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 25.0 | 2 | 28.5 | 20 | 47.6 | 16 | 42.1 | 36 | 45.0 | 2 | 40.0 | 3 | 60.0 | 5 | 50.0 | 6 | 42.8 | 1 | 33.3 | 7 | 41.2 |
| 3. Technical Sales & Administrative Support Occupations | 10 | 17.2 | 5 | 14.7 | 15 | 16.3 | | | | | | | 3 | 7.2 | 7 | 18.4 | 10 | 12.5 | 1 | 20.0 | | | 1 | 10.0 | | | | | | |
| 4. Service Occupations | 4 | 6.9 | 1 | 2.9 | 5 | 5.4 | 1 | 33.3 | | | 1 | 14.3 | 7 | 16.8 | 2 | 5.3 | 9 | 11.2 | | | | | | | 4 | 28.6 | | | 4 | 23.5 |
| 5. Private Operators & Laborers | 1 | 1.7 | 1 | 2.9 | 2 | 2.2 | 1 | 33.3 | 2 | 50.0 | 3 | 42.9 | 5 | 11.9 | 2 | 5.3 | 7 | 8.8 | | | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 10.0 | | | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 5.9 |
| 6. Government Operators & Laborers | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Self-Employed Worker | 1 | 1.7 | | | 1 | 1.1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

[a] Mothers, fathers designated Primary Caregivers; information on 75.4% of such mothers (N=122), 88% of such fathers (N=8)

[b] Fathers designated Secondary Caregivers; information on 97.6% of such fathers (N=82)

[c] Fathers in household, but not designated Secondary Caregivers; information on 91% of such fathers (N=11)

[d] Fathers not living in household; information on 77.3% of such fathers (N=22)

Insert Table 7-5

were available, in which parents' occupations are pursued. The dominant industries of the two groups of mothers, black and nonblack, differ. Most black mothers work in industries pertaining to educational services (37.9%), or health services (25.9%). Nonblack mothers work in either health services (28.6%) or personal/entertainment/recreational industries (22.8%).

Among fathers, education-related services predominates as a category for blacks, while other professional services predominates for nonblacks. Though both groups of men participate widely in a range of work settings, nonblacks may have greater opportunities for independent professional specialties within the private business sector. Probably, these differences partially account for the racial disparities in family incomes.

Income

Table 7-6 presents frequency distributions, by race of child, of the reported family income for the 1982 year. The

Insert Table 7-6

modal family income for blacks is $15,000-24,999 (20%), while the modal family income for nonblacks is $100,000 or above (24.5%). The mean for blacks falls in category 5, $35,000-44,999 per year, while the mean for nonblacks falls in

## Table 7-5

### Occupational Industry, by Race, of Mothers and Fathers

| | Mothers[a] | | | | | | Fathers[a] | | | | | | Fathers[b] | | | | | | Fathers[c] | | | | | | Fathers[d] | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | B | | NB | | T | | B | | NB | | T | | B | | NB | | T | | B | | NB | | T | | B | | NB | | T | |
| | N<br>58 | %<br>62.4 | N<br>35 | %<br>37.6 | N<br>93 | %<br>100 | N<br>3 | %<br>42.8 | N<br>4 | %<br>57.2 | N<br>7 | %<br>100 | N<br>40 | %<br>52.6 | N<br>36 | %<br>47.4 | N<br>76 | %<br>100 | N<br>5 | %<br>50.0 | N<br>5 | %<br>50.0 | N<br>10 | %<br>100 | N<br>14 | %<br>82.4 | N<br>3 | %<br>17.6 | N<br>17 | %<br>100 |
| Industry (U.S. Census Code) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Agriculture, Forestry | | | 1 | 2.8 | 1 | 1.1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Construction | | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | 2.5 | | | 1 | 1.3 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3. Manufacturing | 1 | 1.7 | 1 | 2.8 | 2 | 2.2 | | | 2 | 50.0 | 2 | 28.5 | 3 | 7.5 | 2 | 5.6 | 5 | 6.6 | | | | | | | | | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 5.9 |
| 4. Transportation | 1 | 1.7 | | | 1 | 1.1 | 1 | 33.3 | | | 1 | 14.3 | 3 | 7.5 | 2 | 5.6 | 5 | 6.6 | | | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 10.0 | | | | | | |
| 5. Communication-Public Utilities | | | 2 | 5.7 | 2 | 2.2 | | | | | | | 2 | 5.0 | | | 2 | 2.6 | 1 | 20.0 | 1 | 20.0 | 2 | 20.0 | | | | | | |
| 6. Wholesale Trade | 2 | 3.4 | | | 2 | 2.2 | | | | | | | | | 2 | 5.6 | 2 | 2.6 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7. Retail Trade | 1 | 1.7 | 1 | 2.8 | 2 | 2.2 | | | 1 | 25.0 | 1 | 14.3 | 1 | 2.5 | 2 | 5.6 | 3 | 3.9 | | | | | | | 1 | 7.1 | | | 1 | 5.9 |
| 8. Finance, Insurance Real Estate | 6 | 10.3 | 3 | 8.6 | 9 | 9.7 | | | | | | | 3 | 7.5 | 5 | 13.9 | 8 | 10.5 | | | | | | | 2 | 14.3 | 1 | 33.3 | 3 | 17.6 |
| 9. Business Repair Service | 2 | 3.4 | | | 2 | 2.2 | | | | | | | 2 | 5.0 | 2 | 5.6 | 4 | 5.3 | 1 | 20.0 | | | 1 | 10.0 | 1 | 7.1 | | | 1 | 5.9 |
| 10. Personal, Entertainment, Recreation | 4 | 6.9 | 8 | 22.8 | 12 | 12.9 | 1 | 33.3 | | | 1 | 14.3 | 4 | 10.0 | 4 | 11.1 | 8 | 10.5 | | | | | | | 3 | 21.4 | | | 3 | 17.6 |
| 11. Health Services | 15 | 25.9 | 10 | 28.6 | 25 | 26.9 | | | 1 | 25.0 | 1 | 14.3 | 6 | 15.0 | 4 | 11.1 | 10 | 13.2 | 1 | 20.0 | 3 | 60.0 | 4 | 40.0 | | | 1 | 33.3 | 1 | 5.9 |
| 12. Educational Services | 22 | 37.9 | 4 | 11.4 | 26 | 28.0 | 1 | 33.3 | | | 1 | 14.3 | 8 | 20.0 | 4 | 11.1 | 12 | 15.8 | 1 | 20.0 | | | 1 | 10.0 | 2 | 14.3 | | | 2 | 11.8 |
| 13. Other Professional Services | 3 | 5.2 | 5 | 14.3 | 8 | 8.6 | | | | | | | 3 | 7.5 | 9 | 25.0 | 12 | 15.8 | | | | | | | 4 | 28.6 | | | 4 | 23.5 |
| 14. Public Administration | 1 | 1.7 | | | 1 | 1.1 | | | | | | | 4 | 10.0 | | | 4 | 5.3 | 1 | 20.0 | | | 1 | 10.0 | 1 | 7.1 | | | 1 | 5.9 |

[a] Mothers, fathers designated Primary Caregivers; information on 76% of such mothers (N=122), 88% of such fathers (N=8)

[b] Fathers designated Secondary Caregivers; information on 92.7% of such fathers (N=82)

[c] Fathers in household, but not designated Secondary Caregivers; information on 91% of such fathers (N=11)

[d] Fathers not living in household; information on 77.3% of such fathers (N=22)

Table 7-6

1982 Income Distribution for Black and Nonblack Families

| | | Black[a] (N=70) | Nonblack[b] (N=53) | Total (N=123) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | $9,999 or Below | 6<br>(8.6) | 6<br>(11.3) | 12<br>(9.6) |
| 2. | $10,000-14,999 | 4<br>(5.7) | 6<br>(11.3) | 10<br>(8.1) |
| 3. | $15,000-24,999 | 14<br>(20.0) | 3<br>(5.7) | 17<br>(13.8) |
| 4. | $25,000-34,999 | 11<br>(15.7) | 2<br>(3.8) | 13<br>(10.6) |
| 5. | $35,000-44,999 | 5<br>(7.1) | 5<br>(9.4) | 10<br>(8.1) |
| 6. | $45,000-54,999 | 7<br>(10.0) | 4<br>(7.5) | 11<br>(8.9) |
| 7. | $55,000-64,999 | 5<br>(7.1) | 4<br>(7.5) | 9<br>(7.3) |
| 8. | $65,000-74,999 | 6<br>(8.6) | 3<br>(5.7) | 9<br>(7.3) |
| 9. | $75,000-99,000 | 7<br>(10.0) | 7<br>(13.2) | 14<br>(11.4) |
| 10. | $100,000 or Above | 5<br>(7.1) | 13<br>(24.5) | 18<br>(14.6) |

---

[a] Mode = $15,000-24,999 for blacks; the mean falls in category 5, i.e., $35,000-44,999 (N=70 reporting of 73 total families).

[b] Mode = $100,000 or above for nonblacks; the mean falls in category 6, i.e., $45,000-54,999 (N=53 reporting of 58 total families).

category 5, $35,000-44,999 per year, while the mean for nonblacks falls in category 6, $45,000-54,999 per year. Results of a two-way analyses of variance indicate significant school by race interactions ($F(3,122) = 4.20$, $p=.007$), and main effects for school ($F=(3,122) = 40.92$, $p = .001$) and race ($F(1,122) = 6.35$, $p=.01$) when total 1982 income is the dependent variable. The reported family incomes, in order from highest to lowest, are at Roman (8), Oak Lawn (7), Monroe (6), and St. August (3), respectively. However, the ranks differ by race. Among nonblacks they are, in order from highest to lowest, respectively: Roman (9), Monroe (7), Oak Lawn (7), and St. August (2). Among blacks they are, respectively: Oak Lawn (7), Roman (7), Monroe (5), and St. August (3).

Table 7-7 presents data on the reported primary source of income for the two racial groups. Data were obtained

Insert Table 7-7

for 85% ($N$=111) of the 131 households. For both groups, the primary source of income is father's salary. However, mother's salary is mentioned almost equally as often by blacks, but not nonblacks. As secondary sources of income nonblacks ($N$=34) report wife's salary (50%), and savings and annuities (26.5%). Blacks ($N$=28) report wife's salary (50%) and child support 14.3%.

Table 7-7

Primary Source of 1982 Income: Black and Nonblack Families

| | Black<br>(N=55) | Nonblack<br>(N=56) | Total<br>(N=111) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Father's Salary | 21<br>(38.2) | 40<br>(71.4) | 61<br>(55.0) |
| Husband/Wife Salaries | 6<br>(3.1) | 2<br>(3.6) | 8<br>(7.2) |
| Mother's Salary | 18<br>(32.7) | 6<br>(10.7) | 24<br>(21.6) |
| Own Business | 2<br>(3.6) | 3<br>(5.4) | 5<br>(4.5) |
| Real Estate | 1<br>(1.8) | 0<br>(0) | 1<br>(0.9) |
| Savings Annuities | 1<br>(1.8) | 2<br>(3.6) | 3<br>(2.7) |
| Transfer Payments | 4<br>(7.3) | 0<br>(0) | 4<br>(3.6) |
| Welfare, AFDC | 1<br>(1.8) | 2<br>(3.6) | 3<br>(2.7) |
| Child Support/Alimony | 1<br>(1.8) | 1<br>(1.8) | 2<br>(1.8) |

The available information suggests that collectively blacks make less money and have fewer capital resources than nonblacks, despite essentially equivalent levels of educational attainment. Blacks may work in lower-paying industries than nonblacks. Black fathers with equivalent years of education do not achieve the income brackets of nonblack fathers, and today, the salaries of black mothers do not close the income gap between black and nonblack families as they did 10-15 years ago (Slaughter, 1972).

### School Tuition

Black and nonblack families pay equivalent tuition rates at the schools. The mode for both groups is $500-1,000, while the mean for both groups is between $2,501-3,000 per year in 1982-83. Importantly, black children do not receive significantly more tuition scholarships than nonblack children. Seventy-nine percent (N=56 of 71) of black parents and 81% (N=46 of 57) of nonblack parents responded "no" when asked whether the study child received scholarship aid. Black families in this study are expending considerable funds, given their collective incomes and capital resources in comparison with those of nonblack families, to keep their children enrolled in these schools.

Insert Table 7-8

### Table 7-8

### 1982-83 Distribution of School Tuition Costs Among Black and Nonblack Families

| | Black[a] (N=72) | Nonblack[b] (N=54) | Total (N=126) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. $500-1,000 | 17<br>(23.6) | 12<br>(22.2) | 29<br>(23.0) |
| 2. $1,001-1,500 | 5<br>(6.9) | 3<br>(5.6) | 8<br>(6.3) |
| 3. $1,501-2,000 | 1<br>(1.4) | 1<br>(1.8) | 2<br>(1.6) |
| 4. $2,001-2,500 | 3<br>(4.2) | 3<br>(5.6) | 6<br>(4.8) |
| 5. $2,501-3,000 | 14<br>(19.4) | 9<br>(16.7) | 23<br>(18.2) |
| 6. $3,001-3,500 | 8<br>(11.1) | 8<br>(14.8) | 16<br>(12.7) |
| 7. $3,501-4,000 | 11<br>(15.3) | 6<br>(11.1) | 17<br>(13.5) |
| 8. $4,001-4,500 | 6<br>(8.3) | 1<br>(1.8) | 7<br>(5.6) |
| 9. $4,501-5,000 | 1<br>(1.4) | 4<br>(7.4) | 5<br>(4.0) |
| 10. Over $5,000 | 6<br>(8.3) | 7<br>(13.0) | 13<br>(10.3) |

[a] Mode = $500-1,000 for blacks; the mean falls in category 5, i.e., $2,501-3,000 (N=72 of 73 total families).

[b] Mode = $500-1,000 for nonblacks; the mean falls in category 5, i.e., $2,501-3,000 (N=54 of 58 total families).

## Family Structure and Household Composition

### Ages of Children, Mothers, and Fathers

Not all parents were willing to give their ages. Table 7-9 presents available data on mothers and fathers for both racial groups, as well as for study children. Considering

Table 7-9

Mean Chronological Ages of Children,
Mothers, and Fathers by Race

| | Black | | | Nonblack | | | Total | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | SD | N | M | SD | N | M | SD | N |
| All Schools | | | | | | | | | |
| Child | 10.2 | 2.15 | 73 | 10.9 | 1.90 | 58 | 10.5 | 2.06 | 131 |
| Mothers[a] | 39.4 | 6.10 | 47 | 38.1 | 5.17 | 34 | 38.8 | 5.73 | 81 |
| Fathers[a] | 46.5 | 2.14 | 2 | 39.7 | 3.88 | 4 | 42.0 | 4.69 | 6 |
| Fathers[b] | 43.7 | 7.47 | 31 | 42.1 | 5.40 | 39 | 42.8 | 6.40 | 70 |
| Fathers[c] | 46.0 | 6.55 | 3 | 41.0 | 8.98 | 4 | 43.1 | 7.86 | 7 |
| Fathers[d] | | | | 33.0 | 0.00 | 1 | 33.0 | 0.00 | 1 |

[a] Total number of mothers, fathers designated Primary Caregivers (Ns=122,8)

[b] Fathers designated Secondary Caregivers (N=82)

[c] Fathers in household, but not designated Secondary Caregivers (N=11)

[d] Fathers not living in household (Age available for only 1 of 22 such fathers)

children, mothers, and fathers present in households, there are no significant differences between the two racial groups. On average, however, fathers, particularly black fathers, are 3-5 years older than their children's mothers. Children average 10.5 years, typically placing them in grades 5-6. Two-way analyses of variance by race and school reveal no significant school x race interactions (*F*(3,87) = 1.00, *p*=.40) or main effects for race (*F*(1,87) = 0.51, *p*=.48) for child's age. However, there are significant main effects for school (*F*(3,87) = 3.88, *p*=.01). Children of parents interviewed at Monroe and St. August are younger than children of parents interviewed at Oak Lawn and Roman. The age means at the four schools are: Monroe, 9.6 years; Oak Lawn, 11.1 years; Roman, 11.5 years; and St. August, 10.4 years. The greatest average age difference is between students at Monroe and students at Roman.

### Family Type

The majority of the homes in both racial groups are father present homes. Fathers are present in 77% of the 65 black homes and 88% of the 57 nonblack homes where mothers are primary caregivers (see Table 7-3, *N*=122). Of the nine additional homes, both parents are present in three, five (4 black, 1 nonblack) have only fathers, and in one (nonblack) the older brother is essentially father and primary caregiver. The numbers of fathers absent from homes at the four schools are: Monroe 9; Oak Lawn 3; Roman 6; and St. August 4 (An additional family at St. August had both mother and father absent). Eight of the 9 father absent homes at Monroe are black; 4 of the 5 at St. August are nonblack.

Household Composition

Table 7-10 presents data on the household composition of the black and nonblack families in this study. Both racial households average four persons, but nonblacks tend to have slightly more persons. The majority of families in both races have two children, but nonblacks are more likely to have three or more than blacks. Blacks are nearly three times as likely as nonblacks to have no adult males (men over age 16) in the household, while nonblacks are almost twice as likely as blacks to have two or more such males present. Black fathers, even when single parenting as primary caregivers, are likely to have an adult female (e.g., grandmother to child) in the household with them. Nonblack children are more likely to have older brothers, and younger sisters and brothers than black children. They are also more likely to have schoolage brothers and sisters than black children. Conversely, over twice as many black (34.2%), as nonblack (15.5) children are only children. Data suggest

Insert Table 7-10

### Table 7-10

### Household Composition and Size of Black and Nonblack Families

| | Black (N=73) | | Nonblack (N=58) | | Total (N=131) | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average Number of: | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Persons in Household | 3.9 | 1.51 | 4.6 | 1.49 | 4.2 | 1.53 |
| range: | | | | | | |
| 2 | (11.0) | | (3.4) | | (7.6) | |
| 3-4 | (63.1) | | (51.7) | | (57.0) | |
| ≥ 5 | (20.6) | | (44.9) | | (35.4) | |
| Children in Household | 2.1 | 1.30 | 2.5 | 1.29 | 2.3 | 1.30 |
| range: | | | | | | |
| 1 | (34.2) | | (15.5) | | (26.0) | |
| 2 | (41.1) | | (44.8) | | (42.7) | |
| ≥ 3 | (24.7) | | (39.7) | | (31.3) | |
| Adult Males in Household[a] | 0.8 | 0.68 | 1.1 | 0.71 | 1.0 | .71 |
| range: | | | | | | |
| 0 | (28.8) | | (10.3) | | (20.6) | |
| 1 | (60.3) | | (72.4) | | (65.6) | |
| ≥ 2 | (10.9) | | (17.2) | | (13.8) | |
| Adult Females in Household[a] | 1.3 | 0.75 | 1.1 | 0.41 | 1.2 | .63 |
| range: | | | | | | |
| 0 | (2.7) | | (3.4) | | (3.1) | |
| 1 | (78.1) | | (82.8) | | (80.2) | |
| ≥ 2 | (19.1) | | (13.8) | | (16.7) | |
| Percentages of Children Who Have: | | | | | | |
| Older Brothers | (20.6) | | (31.0) | | (25.2) | |
| Older Sisters | (20.6) | | (19.0) | | (19.8) | |
| Younger Brothers | (23.3) | | (29.3) | | (26.0) | |
| Younger Sisters | (24.7) | | (36.2) | | (29.7) | |
| Preschool/Elementary Age Brothers | (27.4) | | (36.2) | | (31.3) | |
| Preschool/Elementary Age Sisters | (28.8) | | (41.4) | | (34.4) | |

Note: Numbers in parentheses ( ) are percentages.

[a] "Adult" defined as over age 16.

that the black parents cope with their restricted family incomes by limiting their family sizes and thereby expending the available resources on a maximum of 1-2 children.

### Mobility Patterns

Aside from the data on residence, occupational industries, income, family type, and household composition and size, other data also suggest that the social mobility patterns of the two racial groups differ. Data to be reported in this section are based on the sample of mothers (N=122) who were primary caregivers (see Table 7-2).

The majority of responding black mothers and fathers (89% and 93% respectively) were born in the United States, as were a somewhat smaller majority of nonblack mothers and fathers (74% and 75% respectively). Further, of those born here, the majority were born in the midwest, 63% of black mothers and 59% of black fathers, in comparison with 67% of responding nonblack mothers and 73% of nonblack fathers. However, nearly four times as many responding black parents were born in the South (26% of mothers, 27% of fathers), in comparison with nonblack parents (7% of both mothers and fathers). Black mothers who migrated to Chicago tended to have come in the late 60's (M = 67.3, SD = 8.79), and so did nonblack mothers (M = 69.0, SD = 9.19) and nonblack fathers (M = 67.6, SD = 14.75). However, black fathers tended to have migrated in the early 60's (M = 60.2, SD = 12.29).

Mothers report that black and nonblack fathers sought better jobs and more education as the principal reasons for migrating to Chicago. However, more black mothers emphasize jobs, while more nonblack mothers emphasize education. Black mothers themselves report somewhat different reasons for migrating than nonblack mothers. Nonblack mothers stress the influence of friends and changes in husbands' jobs. Black mothers emphasize a personal change of job, getting married, and especially being nearer to other family members already in Chicago. Only two mothers, one black and one nonblack, indicate they migrated because they wished to live in the city; none attributed this reason to their children's father.

Black families had lived at their current residence for an average of 8.6 years (SD = 7.25), while nonblacks had lived at their residence for an average of 7.1 years (SD = 4.99). The dominant reason given by both groups for the residential choice is the attractiveness of the community (e.g., close to downtown, safe, quiet sense of community). Percentages of blacks and nonblacks choosing this reason are, respectively, 46.9% and 44.6%. However, the second most popular reason differed for blacks and nonblacks. Nonblacks offered job-related explanations (e.g., job transfer, closer to work, were given by 23.2% of the respondents), and blacks offered reasons associated with changes in family structure (e.g., divorce, death of a spouse, wanting to be closer to relatives were given by 17.2% of respondents).

Black and nonblack families had somewhat differing networking or associational patterns. First, both groups are equally likely to report attending church about twice monthly. The mean for blacks is 1.7 (SD = 1.22), and the mean for nonblacks is 1.6 (SD = 1.27). However, nearly twice as many blacks (20.6%) as nonblacks (12.1%) report holding an office in their religious community. Although both groups report spending equivalent amounts of time with close neighborhood friends (the mean for blacks = 2.6 visits per week (SD = 3.24), while the mean for nonblacks is 2.1 (SD = 2.21)) the majority of blacks (43.8%) report that they have 1-2 good friends in their neighborhoods who are not close relatives that they spend time with, while the majority of nonblacks (51.7%) report that they have quite a few such friends in the neighborhood. Nearly twice as many blacks (41.5%) as nonblacks (27.7%) report they never visited neighborhood friends. Finally, blacks are more likely to respond affirmatively that they belong to local nonschool-related clubs or neighborhood groups (53.4%), while nonblacks tend to respond negatively (60.3%). However, both groups are equally likely to have held, or presently hold, an office in such groups (28.6% of responding blacks; 29.6% of responding nonblacks).

## Summary

In summary, black and nonblack families in this study are very similar in level of educational attainment, and the relatively high statuses of their primary occupations. They expend similar financial resources to educate their children in private schools. The majority of households in both racial groups have mothers who are working, and fathers present. Most households in both racial groups have three to four persons present, two of whom are likely to be schoolaged children. Ages of children, mothers and fathers are comparable between the two racial groups. The majority of parents in both groups were born and reared in the midwest.

However, there are important differences between the two racial groups. First, they are likely to live in different, racially homogeneous, neighborhoods. Second, they are likely to work in different industries; nonblacks are likely to make considerably more money and to have more capital resources. Third, blacks are more likely than nonblacks to have fewer children, and more single-parent homes. Fourth, for blacks, in comparison with nonblacks, networking around family appears more important. These findings are revealed in the reasons offered for migration, for residential choice, and in the extent to which nonrelatives are intimate members of their social worlds. Once establishing friendship ties outside family, blacks tended to participate in more formal associations. Significantly more black mothers and fathers report being from the southern region of the country, whereas significantly more nonblack mothers and fathers report being from the eastern and nothern regions. Differences in preferred networking and associational life styles may partly reflect regional differences in the social origins of many black and nonblack families (Slaughter & McWorter, 1985).

These essentially sociological differences are paralleled in race differences in attitudes toward private schooling, desegregation, and social and cultural pluralism within schools. However, the racial similarities in educational attainment and occupational status are reflected in racial similarities in educational aspirations and expectations.

## Parental Educational Attitudes

Given the background characteristics of the parents, before continuing in chapter 8 with a description of their diverse educational aims, it is useful to present selected information on their shared educational experiences and views. The information provides a context for understanding the diversity of goals because it addressed some of the more initially obvious questions to ask of obtained data.

### Parental Satisfaction with Own Education

Table 7-11 presents selected information on parental

Insert Table 7-11

satisfaction with own education, private school attendance, and private school preference. No significant racial or school differences are obtained in parental satisfaction with own education. Both black and nonblack parents typically report satisfaction (average rating = 4.0) with the quality of education they received. Parents at all four study schools also express equivalent satisfaction. During interviews, many parents expressed a concern that the quality of education received by students had worsened since they finished school. Others thought education had improved since then, but still felt satisfied with what they received.

### Parental Private School Attendance and Valuation

There are no school differences in the numbers of parents who report they had attended private schools. Mothers at all schools typically reported that they had not attended private schools, nor had the fathers of their children. However, there are significant racial differences. Black mothers and fathers are significantly less likely to have attended private schools than nonblack mothers and fathers. These findings are consistent with a major assumption of this research: Private school attendance is relatively new in the educational experiences of black children and families.

Table 7-11

Parental Educational Satisfaction, Private School Attendance, and Private School Preference

($N$ = 121)

| | $F$ | $df$ | $p$ | Finding |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Primary Caregiver Satisfied with Own Education?[a] | | | | |
| Race | 0.70 | 1,120 | .40 | Overall $M$ = 3.66 |
| School | 0.54 | 3,120 | .65 | |
| Mother Attended Private School? | | | | |
| Race | 12.16 | 1,120 | .00 | Nonblacks > Blacks |
| School | 0.25 | 3,120 | .86 | |
| Father Attended Private School? | | | | |
| Race | 8.55 | 1,120 | .00 | Nonblacks > Blacks |
| School | | | | |
| Strongest Preference for Private School?[b] | | | | |
| Race | 0.64 | 1,120 | .42 | |
| School | 3.58 | 3,120 | .02 | Overall $M$ = 3.29 |
| Generally Prefer Private Schools?[c] | | | | |
| Race | 0.33 | 1,120 | .57 | |
| School | 6.47 | 3,120 | .00 | Overall $M$ = 1.89 |

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[a] Satisfaction codes: 5 = Very satisfied; 4 = Satisfied; 3 = Fairly satisfied; 2 = Not satisfied; 1 = Very dissatisfied

[b] Question was: Between the two of you, who feels most strongly in favor of private schooling? Where 4 = Both equally; 3 = Mother; 2 = Father; 1 = Don't know.

[c] Question was: If your family lived elsewhere, would you still prefer to send child's name to private school? Where 4 = Yes; 3 = Maybe; 2 = Don't know; 1 = No.

Among families, black and nonblack parents are equally likely to report that the strongest preference for private schooling is held by either mother (33.9%) or both mother and fathers equally (48.8%). However, between the four schools, parents at Oak Lawn are most likely to report that both mother and father feel equally strong about their preference for private schooling for their children. On average, Oak Lawn children may travel the greatest distance to reach their school. It is not surprising that these parents would be the most highly committed to support of private schooling. The mean for Oak Lawn is 3.68, while it is 3.18, 3.04, and 3.29, respectively, for Monroe, Roman, and St. August.

Black and nonblack parents also do not differ in their general preference for private schooling. The majority of parents (59.4%) respond negatively to the question of whether they would choose private schooling if they lived elsewhere. Most say "Maybe" (32.0%) or "Don't know" (6.3%). Many (21.1%) say "No." The choice of private schooling seems intimately related to the family's current life style. However, there are significant school differences. Parents at St. August are significantly more likely to say "Yes" or "Maybe" than parents at the other schools. The mean for St. August is 2.61, while it is 1.75, 1.71, and 1.50, respectively, at Oak Lawn, Roman, and Monroe. Parents at St. August may perceive their options for quality education to be more limited than parents at the other schools. Available data suggest that St. August parents live in the poorest of the four school community areas (see chapter 5), and have the least amount of educational attainment (see Tables 7-2 and 7-3). Few parents presently had contact with neighborhood public schools (21.9%), but the majority (57.4%) report that their child had attended other, usually public, elementary schools. No significant racial or school differences were obtained on these variables.

### Parental Educational Aspirations and Expectations

As a group, the parents have a high value for their children's educational attainment. A clear majority report having enrolled their child in a day care center or nursery school (81.3%). Formal education began early for their children.

Table 7-12 provides more direction information on the educational aspirations of these parents for their children.

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Insert Table 7-12

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No significant racial differences in educational aspirations, ($F(1,123) = 0.28$, $p = .60$), educational expectations, ($F(1,118) = 0.32$, $p = .57$), or minimal standards for educational attainment ($F(1,127) = 0.74$, $p = .39$) were found between black and nonblack parents in the total sample.

## Table 7-12

## Mean Parental Academic Aspirations, Expectations, and Minimal Educational Attainment

## by Race and School
(grades K-8)

| | Educational Aspiration[a] | | Educational Expectation[b] | | Minimal Educational Attainment[c] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Race | | | | | | |
| Black | 4.6<br>(70) | 1.28 | 4.4<br>(65) | 1.43 | 3.1<br>(71) | 1.43 |
| Monroe | 4.4<br>(20) | 1.05 | 4.1<br>(18) | 1.07 | 3.0<br>(22) | 1.36 |
| Oak Lawn | 5.4<br>(15) | 0.83 | 4.9<br>(15) | 0.96 | 3.6<br>(15) | 1.40 |
| Roman | 4.9<br>(15) | 1.10 | 5.0<br>(15) | 1.41 | 3.7<br>(15) | 1.03 |
| St. August | 4.0<br>(20) | 1.60 | 3.7<br>(17) | 1.79 | 2.4<br>(19) | 1.54 |
| Nonblack | 4.5<br>(54) | 1.33 | 4.2<br>(54) | 1.61 | 2.9<br>(57) | 1.56 |
| Monroe | 4.2<br>(13) | 1.16 | 4.1<br>(13) | 1.19 | 2.7<br>(15) | 1.49 |
| Oak Lawn | 4.2<br>(12) | 0.62 | 4.0<br>(12) | 0.00 | 2.8<br>(13) | 1.52 |
| Roman | 5.1<br>(15) | 1.44 | 4.3<br>(15) | 0.98 | 3.5<br>(15) | 1.73 |
| St. August | 4.4<br>(14) | 1.70 | 4.5<br>(14) | 2.85 | 2.5<br>(14) | 1.45 |

Table 7-12 (cont.)

| | Educational Aspiration[a] | | Educational Expectation[b] | | Minimal Educational Attainment[c] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| **Total** | | | | | | |
| Monroe | 4.4<br>(33) | 1.08 | 4.1<br>(31) | 1.11 | 2.9<br>(37) | 1.40 |
| Oak Lawn | 4.9<br>(27) | 0.93 | 4.5<br>(27) | 0.85 | 3.2<br>(28) | 1.48 |
| Roman | 5.0<br>(30) | 1.26 | 4.7<br>(30) | 1.24 | 3.6<br>(30) | 1.40 |
| St. August | 4.2<br>(34) | 1.63 | 4.1<br>(31) | 2.32 | 2.4<br>(33) | 1.48 |
| **Grand Total** | 4.6<br>(124) | 1.30 | 4.3<br>(119) | 1.51 | 3.0<br>(128) | 1.48 |

Note: The same scale was used throughout: 1 = High school diploma; 2 = Vocational, business or technical school diploma (including military certification); 3 = Associates degree (= 2 years of college); 4 = College degree (B.A. or B.S.); 5 = Master's degree (M.A., M.S.W., or M.B.A.; 6 = Doctorate or law degree (Ph.D., M.D., D.V.M., J.D., etc.) Some parents could not answer all three questions.

[a] Educational Aspiration: How far in school would you like to see child's name go?

[b] Educational Expectation: How far do you think child's name will actually go in school?

[c] Minimal Educational Attainment: What is the least amount of schooling that you think he (she) must have?

Similar results were obtained when the sample was restricted to black and nonblack parents of fifth-eighth graders. Black and nonblack parents at all schools, on average, want their children to obtain a college degree. They also expect that they will obtain a college degree. Parents at all schools expect some minimum education beyond high school, most stipulating college attendance, for their children. These long-range aspirations and expectations are paralleled in immediate expectations of school achievement. When asked how they expected their children to perform next year, in comparison with classmates, 93.8% of the total sample (N= 130 responses) stated their children would be average or above in achievement.

In summary, data indicate that the private schooling experience is a relatively new one for many of the black parents interviewed, particularly in comparison with nonblack parents. However, these black parents, as do the majority of parents interviewed, highly value education and have high long-range aspirations and expectations for their children. Further, college attendance, at minimum, appears to be a "must" for most parents at all schools. Even though the majority are reserved, relative to their commitment to private schooling per se, they appear certain that at present this is the best educational option for their children. Usually, mothers perceive both parents to be equally committed.

Though generally satisfied with their schooling, the majority of the parents, black and nonblack, are optimistic that the quality of elementary education being given to their children is an improvement upon their own.

Parental Perceptions of School Desegregation

Black and nonblack mothers ($\underline{N}$ = 122) report the parents differ in their own experiences with racial desegregation in schools. The overwhelming majority of black parents have had exposure to whites early in their educational experience. At least 70% of the black mothers had some exposure to white elementary school teachers. Fewer than 10% of the nonblack mothers report having any contact with black teachers. However, no significant racial ($\underline{F}(1,120) = 2.29$, $\underline{p} = 0.13$) or school ($\underline{F}(3,120) = 0.05$, $p = 0.99$) differences were found in the numbers of mothers who reported attending peer racially desegregated schools at the ages of children in this study. Thirty-two percent of responding black, and 20% of responding nonblack, mothers attended racially desegregated schools. In summary, for nonblack families, the experiences that their children have in a peer desegregated private school is new. For black families, the experience of private schooling is new. Further, among some blacks the experience of peer desegregated private schooling is new, though contacts with white educators is not.

Given these data, an important question is how black and nonblack parents perceive the role of peer racial and ethnic diversity in the private schools attended by their children.

## Parental Perceptions of Racial and Ethnic Diversity in School

Parents were asked whether the experiences of an ethnically and racially diverse private school in any way influenced their opinions about quality education. No significant racial differences were found, (F(1,118) = 1.41, p = .24). The mean for blacks is 1.44 (SD = 0.50), while the mean for nonblacks is 1.33 (SD = 0.48). On a 4-point scale, most persons in both groups responded "No, very little" or "No, not at all" to this question. Table 7-13 presents the distributions by race as to the reasons parents give in support of their views. Black parents are more likely than nonblack parents to say quality education is best achieved with racial and ethnic diversity; nonblack parents are more likely to say diversity makes no difference to education.

Insert Table 7-13

Parents were asked their views as to the magnitude of the school's role in helping their children to achieve a positive racial and ethnic identity. No significant racial differences were found (F(1,114) = 0.93, p. = .34). Parents

### Table 7-13

### Parental Perceptions About the Impact of Social Diversity on Quality Education

| Race: | Black<br>(n=60) | Nonblack<br>(n=48) |
|---|---|---|
| Parental Perceptions: | | |
| Quality education best achieved with racial and ethnic diversity | 15<br>(25) | 5<br>(10.4) |
| Diversity part of education | 13<br>(21.7) | 11<br>(22.9) |
| Diversity adds to education | 5<br>(8.3) | 5<br>(10.4) |
| Diversity not part of quality education per se | 9<br>(15) | 10<br>(21) |
| Diversity makes no difference to education | 5<br>(8.3) | 11<br>(22.9) |
| Diversity detracts from quality education | 0<br>(0) | 1<br>(2) |
| No elaboration | 13<br>(21.7) | 5<br>(10.4) |

Note: Raw numbers refer to number of statements, not persons. Numbers in parentheses reflect percentages. N=119 persons.

agree that the school has a small role, in contrast to either no role at all, or a large role.

Focusing on the children, parents were asked what their children had learned in school about people of other races and cultures that they thought especially important. Responses were classified according to the presence or absence of certain idea-statements. Table 7-14 presents a classification of statements made by race of parent. Almost twice as many nonblacks as blacks emphasize that

Table 7-14

Parental Perceptions of Child's School Learning

About Racial and Cultural Differences

| Race: | Black (N=107) | Nonblack (N=69) | Total (N=176) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Parental Perceptions:** | | | |
| Tolerance for racial and cultural differences | 41<br>(38.3) | 28<br>(40.5) | 69<br>(39.2) |
| Learning about different cultures/social traditions | 35<br>(32.7) | 19<br>(27.5) | 54<br>(30.1) |
| No essential racial or cultural differences | 11<br>(10.2) | 11<br>(16) | 22<br>(12.5) |
| Learning about black cultures/social tradition | 6<br>(5.6) | 4<br>(5.8) | 10<br>(5.7) |
| Nothing | 5<br>(4.7) | 1<br>(1.5) | 6<br>(3.4) |
| Don't Know | 9<br>(8.4) | 6<br>(8.7) | 15<br>(8.5) |

Note: Raw numbers refer to number of statements, not persons. Numbers in parentheses reflect percentages. N=127 persons.

their children learn in school that there are no essential racial or cultural differences. In contrast, more blacks than nonblacks emphasize that the children are learning about different cultures and social traditions. However, the majority of respondents in both groups stress that the children are learning tolerance for racial and cultural differences.

The majority of parents who respond that the children have learned about other races and cultures in school indicate that this learning occurred as a result of peer contacts in school. Many also indicate that children learned by way of observations made in school. Parents also suggest that special school programs are helpful. In contrast, books and other printed materials, discussions with parents about school observations and experiences, and specific school incidents are nominated far less often by parents. Least often nominated is contact with the families of peers from other races and cultures.

Finally, parents were asked whether they were in favor of integrated schools for all children. The majority of responding parents ($N$=127) in both racial groups reported "Yes" or "Yes, maybe" on the 3-point scale. No signigicant racial differences were found ($F(1,126) = 1.50$, $p = .22$). The mean for blacks is 2.77 ($SD = 0.72$), while the mean for nonblacks is 2.60 ($SD = 0.88$).

When reasons were given, typically two account for parents' favorable views of integrated schools. One reason offered by a minority of parents is that the children would learn to appreciate other persons from differing social and cultural backgrounds. However, the more popular reason offered is that the children would learn to live and cope with an integrated society. These parents feel that attendance at an integrated school would better prepare their children to adapt to American society as it exists. Therefore, their view of racial integration in schools is pragmatic, rather than idealistic, in nature.

Parents who did not approve of integrated schools for all children express opposition on two counts: (a) Forced busing is not thought to be an appropriate strategy to achieve integration, and (b) Similar achievement values among children are perceived to be more important for school peers than similarity or diversity of social backgrounds. Therefore, this minority of parents rationalize their views in ideological terms which emphasize the immediate implications for participating children, rather than the children's future, long-range adaptations to American society.

The consensus of most parents is that integrated schools provide children with an opportunity for "learning how to live in an integrated society." However, black parents seem to place more emphasis on the importance of learning about different cultures and social traditions (see Table 7-14).

In summary, the data suggest that the educational aspirations and expectations of black and nonblack parents, while essentially the same, evolve from different experiences. The social mobility of black parents is partially explained by their experience with desegregation. With respect to their children, integration has become a strategy for the continuation of social mobility in the next generation. The social mobility of nonblack parents appears to have little connection with desegregation. Black parents are over twice as likely (25% vs. 10.4%) to say that a quality education is best achieved with racial and ethnic diversity. Nonblack parents, who in their educational backgrounds had very little experience with diversity, are almost three times (8.3% vs. 22.9%) as likely to say that ethnic and racial diversity makes no difference to a quality education. Both groups of parents believe that it is important for the child to learn tolerance and non-prejudiced attitudes toward racial and cultural differences. Black parents more often stress learning about different cultures (32.7% vs. 27.5%), but nonblack parents more often stress (16% vs. 10.2%) that their child has learned that no essential racial nor cultural differences exist between themselves and blacks.

## Conclusion

Who are the black parents who send their children to the desegregated private schools in this study? Did they attend private schools as children? Desegregated schools? What do socioeconomic indicators reveal about their current life styles? How do they generally network? Having networked with these schools in particular, how do they feel about racial and ethnic diversity in schools, and what are their educational aspirations for their children? This chapter addressed these issues as potential sources of conflict between black and nonblack families and children in private schools. If the black parents' own early schooling is markedly discontinuous with that experienced by their children; if their life styles and networking patterns differ greatly from those of nonblack parents; if their aspirations and expectations of their children are dissimilar to those of other parents; or if they have different expectations of racial and ethnic diversity in schools, then it is possible that any one or more of these factors could be potential sources of conflict. This chapter contrasted black parents with a group of nonblack parents on these and other related issues. It essentially described similarities and differences between the two groups.

It is concluded that black and nonblack parents in this study are highly similar in levels of educational attainment and occupational status. They are similar in age, family type, numbers of children, and experience with peer desegregated schools. Both groups have little experience with the latter. Families are similar in ratings of satisfaction with their own elementary school, their educational aspirations and expectations for their children's educational attainment. They are equally committed to desegregation, but they do not perceive desegregation to be a requisite for quality education for children. They do believe school desegregation facilitates children's learning about how to live in an integrated American society. They pay equivalent tuition fees for the education given to their children; the majority of children in both racial groups do not receive scholarship aid.

Families are dissimilar in their residential patterns. They tend not to live in the same communities, and they tend to live in racially homogeneous communities. They work in different industries. Nonblacks have significantly higher family incomes and capital resources. Families have different mobility patterns. Blacks report more networking with family; nonblacks more informal networking in their current neighborhoods. Blacks have had more contact with other-race teachers and more contact with peer-desegregated schools. Nonblacks have had significantly more experience with private schools, and are somewhat more likely to express a preference for private, as contrasted with public, schools.

Blacks are more likely than nonblacks to express the view that desegregated schools provide students with opportunities to learn about different social and cultural traditions. Findings suggest that these essentially middle-income parents differ by race in several important sociological and sociopsychological ways.

Chapters 8 and 9 further explore the impact of these similarities and differences for the educational goals saluted by parents and schools. Of particular interest in chapters 9-12 is how consensus is formed within the context of these obvious differences between black and nonblack families in the schools.

# Chapter 8

## The Educational Goals of Black and Nonblack Parents

### Introduction

The dictionary defines goal as "2. an end that one strives to attain; aim" (Webster's New World Dictionary, 1976, p. 598). In this study, the question of why black parents choose to send their children to private schools was interpreted to be a problem of analysis of the aims of education as perceived by black, in comparison with non-black, parents. It is reasonable to assume that parents differ in their educational aims. American society has achieved consensus on the value of education, but there is consistent evidence of diversity of opinion as to the aims or purposes of education. The evidence is found in historical and philosophical analyses of education in America. It is found in the diversity of schooling arrangements and school types that exist. It is also found in the results of educational studies.

Over time consensus has formed around differing educational aims. Early aims to provide for a literate citizenry were supplemented, some would say subrogated, by the aim of providing for social equity via equal educational opportunity. An emphasis on multiculturalism in the 1970's was overshadowed by emphasis upon a return to the basics

(Baker, 1979; Banks, 1979; Bereiter, 1972; Cheng, et al., 1979). Dewey (1968) emphasized the child's preparation for life in the real world. Today, many are concerned that education prepare children to cope as adults within an increasingly service-oriented, technological society (Paideia Proposal, 1982). Given the co-existence and prevalence of such differing views in society, it is reasonable to assume that parents differ in (a) perceptions of the desirable outcomes of their children's education, and (b) perceptions of the desirable qualities of any school.

Coherent, but quite different, educational philosophies also coexist in American society. For example, some philosophies are far more child-centered (e.g., Dewey, 1972; Kohlberg & Mayer, 1972) than others (e.g., Bereiter, 1972). The structure, sequencing, and pacing of curriculum are less important than that an optimal match be achieved between what the child knows, and therefore, what it can know and be taught. In the child-centered approach, it is thought that children are naturally motivated to explore and master novelty. Provided that they feel secure, such new learning is extraordinarily pleasurable, and therefore, self-reinforcing. More traditional approaches often assume children have to be motivated to learn, and stress the importance of the structure and organization of curriculum (Minuchin, et al., 1969), as well as adult sanctions, to the learning process. In this study, parents were expected to differ in (a) their perceptions of how children learn and develop, and (b) the respective roles of parents and teachers in children's learning.

Historically, schools have been organized and managed differently within American society. Some are largely parent-supervised and operated; others are managed by elected and/or appointed community boards of trustees. Both types are likely to be small and relatively self-contained with respect to having ultimate responsibility for the child's education. Other schools are members of larger bureaucratic structures (e.g., parochial schools, public schools). Educational authority is ultimately held by persons equivalent to district superintendents or superintendents who report to boards of education. Apart from school organization and management, many other factors such as geographical location, extent of urbanization of the school's community, racial/ethnic mix of the school population, school size, and so on, combine to determine the unique type of schooling experienced by a child's parents. It seems reasonable to assume that parents' educational goals for children would be partly influenced by appraisals of the contexts surrounding their own earlier educational experiences.

Both families and schools are institutions within a larger culture, in this instance, American culture. Both share, though unequally, in the child's socialization into that greater culture. Socialization research literature documents that as families differ in structural ties to the broader culture, their perceptions of the means and ends of childhood socialization differ (Getzels, 1969). Further, as society changes and introduces different demands upon its existing institutions, the socialization contexts experienced by children also change (Hess & Holloway, 1985). Families could be expected to differ in characterization of the role of their child's school in current family life according to their structural placement in society and the extent to which they have been impacted by societal changes. Such differences also partly influence perceptions of the aims of education because American families, as primary socialization institutions, perceive schools to be major secondary socialization settings for their children.

In summary, many factors converge to determine parental educational goals. The open-ended questions in the Family Educational Goals section of the parent interview address six topics thought important to an analysis of parental goals:

(a) Prior educational experiences of the one or two responsible parents;

(b) Parental perceptions of how children learn and develop;

(c) Parental perceptions of the respective roles of teachers and parents in the child's learning;

(d) How parents characterize the role of their child's school in current family life;

(e) What parents envision as the desirable qualities of any school; and

(f) Parental perceptions of the desirable outcomes of their child's education and schooling experiences.

## Method and Procedures

Chapter 6 has described how the parent interview was designed and developed, and how data were collected. This chapter describes how parental educational goals were identified, coded, and analyzed, and discusses obtained results.

### Assessing parental educational goals

Many factors converge to determine a family's choice of a particular school for their child and therefore, it was decided that no one response to a particular interview question would be sufficiently informative. Rather, it was decided to develop criteria to guide the research team in making a holistic, admittedly subjective, judgment about the overall character of the rationalization offered by the parent(s) in response to questions presented in Table 8-1.

### Table 8-1

### Key Parent Inverview Questions Used to Classify Parental Educational Goals

| Question # | Question |
|---|---|
| (41) | What was your best teacher like?[a] |
| (42) | How did your teachers discipline the classes?[a] |
| (44) | Thinking back to your own school days, what would you most want to change if you could relive them?[a] |
| (52) | In your opinion, what experiences, if any, did (secondary caregiver) have during his elementary or secondary school years that influenced his (her) decision to send child's name to a private school? |
| (53) | Between the two of you who feels most strongly in favor of private schooling for child's name and why? |
| (54) | What is different about the schooling children you know receive now, by comparison to when you went to elementary school? |
| (55) | What do you think the difference is between the teacher's job and the parent's job, as far as helping children to learn?[a] |
| (56) | Where do you get most of your information about schools? What do you think of the schools in your neighborhood? |
| (61b) | How did you choose this school for child's name? Describe the process. |
| (62b) | Did you go through a similar process when selecting day care and/or a preschool (nursery) for child's name? Describe. |
| (63) | At this time, what is your idea of the essential elements of a quality education for your child? |
| (64) | How is this view of education reflected in your decision to send child's name to a private school?[a] Specifically, how does the school your child attends compare with your "ideal school"? |
| (65) | If your family lived elsewhere, would you still prefer to send child's name to a private school? Why or why not? |
| (66a) | Identify and list at least four qualities you and your family would like to see developed in your child as a result of the education he (she) is receiving.[a] |

| Question # | Question |
|---|---|
| (66b) | In general, what do you feel your child needs to know in order to get along in this world?[a] |
| (68) | How far in school would you like to see child's name go? |
| (72) | What occupation do you want child's name to have when he (she) finishes school? |
| (73) | Why? |
| (74) | What type of occupation would you be most dissatisfied with? |

[a] Teachers were asked identical, or nearly identical questions about the students in their classrooms

Other important questions address parental expectations for the child's educational attainment, and past and present educational aspirations and expectations held by the parent for self. Still others ask the parent to characterize the social context of the elementary school attended when approximately the same age as the focal child, and probe the schooling experiences of this child prior to the present one attended.

### Identifying parental response patterns

Coding began in January, 1984 with inductive derivation of the patterns of response to the questions in Table 8-1. The two female co-principal investigators met weekly with three mature female graduate students, one black and two white. Two students (1 black, 1 white) and one investigator had conducted the home-based parent interviews. One student and one investigator had school-age children. All students were familiar with the aims of the overall study. They knew that the team effort would address a key study question: Why do black parents send their children to private schools?

Initially, 13 of the 131 obtained interviews from black and nonblack parents, or 10 percent, were independently read by at least two members of this research team. The 13 cases had been randomly chosen from the black (8 of 74 available) and nonblack (5 of 57 available) interviews from each of the four study schools. Three to four interviews were chosen from each school, and one to two nonblack parents within each school.

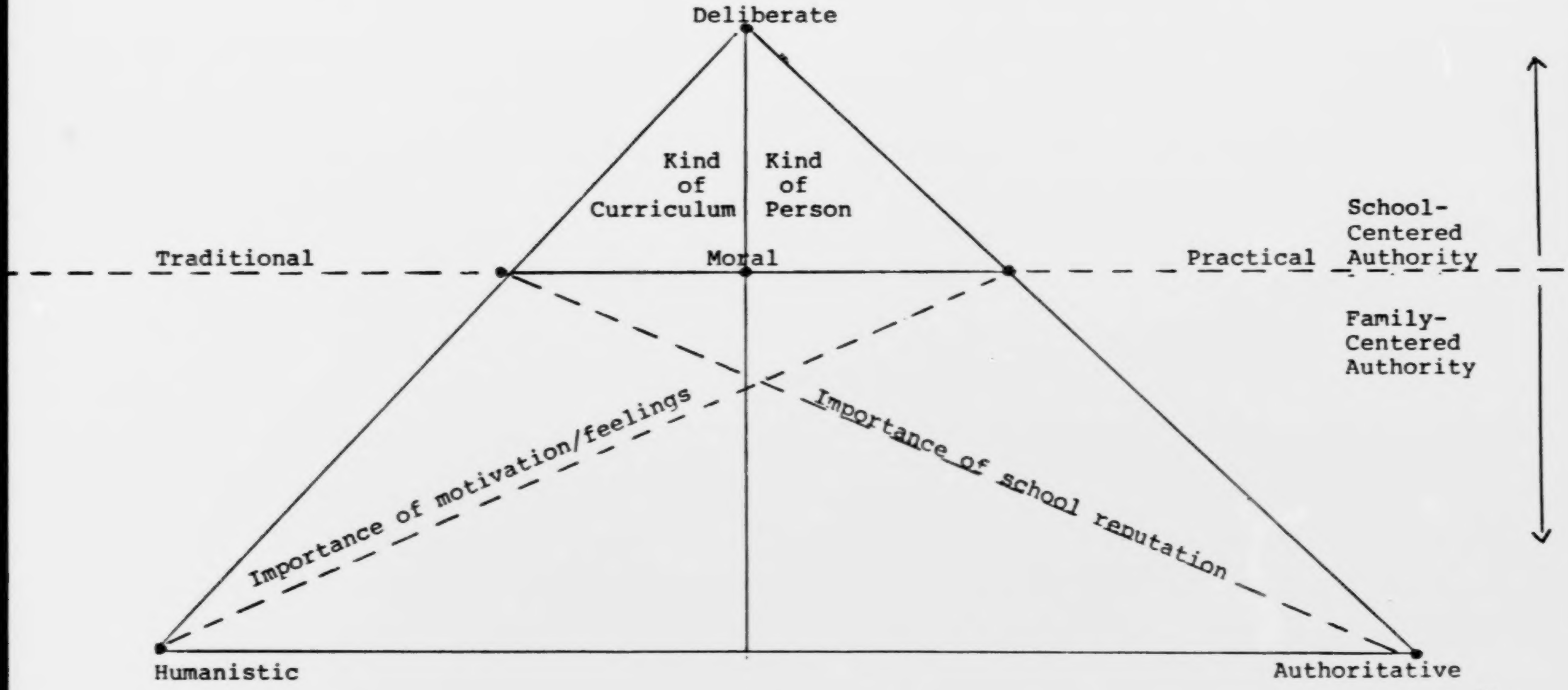
Team members were instructed to read the Family Educational Goals section of the parent interview in view of the six criteria listed above. They should examine what had been the educational experiences of the parents themselves, as reported in the interviews, how did the parent envision children learning and developing, and so on. Each of the 13 cases was discussed and reviewed in detail in the groups, toward the goal of identifying a preliminary response pattern for the case that could be agreed upon.

When these criteria were systematically applied to an examination of obtained interview data, it was possible to distinquish six different response patterns. The patterns were labelled: (a) Authoritative, (b) Deliberate, (c) Humanistic, (d) Moral, (e) Practical, and (f) Traditional.

Figure 8-1 depicts how the response patterns were thought to stand in relation to one another.

Figure 8-1

Parental Educational Goals: Identified Response Patterns


Deliberate
Kind of Curriculum
Kind of Person
Traditional
Moral
Practical
School-Centered Authority
Family-Centered Authority
Importance of motivation/feelings
Importance of school reputation
Humanistic
Authoritative

First, families differ as to whether they see the primary authority for the child's education and schooling to reside within the family or within the school. Patterns classified as Authoritative or Humanistic emphasize the importance of the school for realizing the family's own educational goals for its children. Conversely, patterns classified as Deliberate, Moral, Practical, or Traditional emphasize school-centered authority for the child's education. Educational goals are to be defined by educators; the family supports the school's efforts.

Second, families differ in their perceptions of the centrality of the child's feelings in the educational process. Concern for the emotional climate of the school, the child's personal-social development, the roles of teachers and parents in motivating children typify either Humanistic or Practical response patterns. These themes are not recurrent in other patterns.

Third, emphasis on the social or reputational standing of schools occurs more frequently in the Authoritative and Traditional response patterns. The standards of the school, its educational curriculum, insofar as these are public, are particularly stressed in these response patterns, by comparison to the others: Deliberate, Humanistic, Practical and Moral.

Fourth, emphasis on definite linkages between curriculum and other educational experiences and child learning and development outcomes is most characteristic of the Deliberate and Moral response patterns. The outcomes may stress either the personal capability for improved social standing in the future (Deliberate), or improved personal character (Moral). Other patterns tend to stress the quality of the child's immediate in-school experiences. The patterns either more often stress specific child achievement or occupational outcomes, and/or emphasize that if provided with a responsive learning environment, the child will develop optimally, choosing its own future.

Each of the six response patterns emerged within the context of the preliminary team discussions (4 Deliberate, 2 Authoritative, 2 Humanistic, 2 Moral, 2 Traditional, 1 Practical). Black and nonblack parents were represented in four of the six patterns; Practical and Authoritative occurred only among black parents in the initial 13 cases. In this small group, five of the six patterns occurred at only one school.

These initial results were not surprising because the four schools had been deliberately chosen to maximize the probability of differing educational philosophies. However, student readers knew little of these philosophies, and readers did not judge interviews they had conducted. The relative naivete of the student members of the team was very important because both co-investigators had interviewed top administrators at each school. However, during the team meetings, the schools attended by the parents' children were not discussed; the focus was on classifying the response pattern of the individual interviewee.

Coding procedures

After preliminary consensus was established about the salient features of each of the six inductively-derived response patterns, and tentative descriptions written, 72 interviews were coded by two members of the research team. The purpose of having two judges was to achieve consensus on the classification of a particular response pattern. Whenever the two co-investigators were not raters, the judges were mixed-race pairs. Black interviews were rated first, and a Guttman scale was used to assign interviews in sequence to each pair of judges. Major identified discrepancies in classification were discussed and resolved within the group. Later, three additional female raters (2 black, 1 white) were added to the team. They assisted in coding the remaining 46 interviews, and in resolving earlier discrepancies. The two new black judges had conducted parent interviews, but not at the schools of the parents they rated. Finally, the co-investigators reviewed all 131 classifications, even in instances where there had been no discrepancies (63 of 131 cases or 48 percent). Therefore, every case had a minimum of three readings, and some had more. Judges had the verbatim tapes of this section of the interview to refer to whenever the interview protocol left them in doubt of the most viable classification.

Raters routinely identified, on a coding form, the key responses and phrases that determined their final classification. Though raters were instructed to identify any newly emergent response patterns that could not be readily classified into one of the existing six categories, none were.

Each of the six response patterns will be described in its most unambiguous form. However, parents varied in the intensity and thoroughness with which they reported and rationalized their views. In particular, judges classified parents as essentially Traditional who simply stressed a strong basic and enriched academic program, without focusing as intently upon the reputational status of the school and/or the families of the other students who attended. In a larger sample, this category might become big enough to be independently differentiated. Finally, judges found a few instances in which the two caregivers in a family held distinctly different educational ideologies. If there was no clear deferral of one parent to the other, for purposes of this study, the views of the actual interviewee were given priority in the classification.

## The Six Parental Educational Goals: Key Elements of Each Response Pattern and Applications to the Choice of Private Schooling

In the final classification, the response patterns are distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Authoritative | 19 |
| Deliberate | 33 |
| Humanistic | 34 |
| Moral | 10 |
| Practical | 13 |
| Traditional | 22 |
| Total | 131 |

The key elements of each response pattern are listed prior to a more descriptive, holistic definition. These elements essentially distinguish the one response pattern from the other five, because they are not found, in combination, in any of the other patterns. The definition is a thumbnail sketch of the pattern, with a primary focus on how the elements converged to cause the parents to choose private schooling for the child. In the coding manual found in Appendix A illustrations follow each of these definitions. Of course, there are universal elements common to all response patterns. These were discussed in chapter 7.

The distinction made throughout between the key elements of the response pattern on the one hand, and the choice of a private school on the other, is important. The response patterns may be generalizable to public school parents, insofar as the patterns reflect differing educational ideologies. However, in this sample, these ideologies are used to rationalize the specific choice of private schooling. The key descriptive elements implicate private schools per se only in the Traditional response pattern, and this pattern contains the most mixed group of responses.

Authoritative response pattern

There are six key elements of this response pattern, each of which will be enumerated, in order of greatest to least priority, prior to a more holistic description.

1. First, these parents reached the decision to send their child to its school after a very systematic investigation of alternative options, primarily because they see themselves as being very responsible for the quality of education their child receives inside and outside of school;

2. Second, these parents are very vocal and articulate about the educational philosophy of their child's school. They easily evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the school, as far as how it affects their child;

3. Third, the parents believe they are responsible for ensuring teacher accountability. Mechanisms for clear-cut teacher accountability and high academic standards are perceived lacking in many American schools;

4. Fourth, these parents believe that the essential elements of a quality education for their child includes exposure of that child to children of socially and culturally different backgrounds;

5. Fifth, the parents believe that the ideal school should have, in addition to a strong, broad academic program that is intellectually challenging, a focus on the social fabric of society, including social problems; and

6. Sixth, the parents believe that the optimal educational environment plays an important role in the formation of the child's social identity and the maintenance of its self-esteem.

Summary definition: Authoritative choice model

Parents who stress the importance of their own responsibility for their child's education are parents who choose a school primarily because they perceive it offers them the best opportunity to protect their children from adverse in-school social experiences. These parents often vividly describe the negative educational experiences that children can have, and are determined that these experiences not become part of their own children's lives. They are very aware that education occurs in a larger American social and cultural context, and seek ways to both minimize the impact of perceived negative features of our society and maximize perceived positive ones. The specifics of these "features" may vary between families, but interests are very similar: These parents want to retain influence vis-a-vis teachers and school administrators in their child's education. They believe that a deficient education is the probable outcome of relinquished parental responsibility. They choose a school whose faculty and staff can be trusted to adhere very closely to the family's educational standards. They are sensitive to any aspects of the school environment which could attenuate their family's control and influence over the child.

The desire to maintain control of educational standards often led the family to select private schooling. However, such parents are not overly child-centered. When they discuss the child's learning and development, they generally emphasize the quality of instruction that the child receives, rather than the child's feelings about it.

These parents believe that the child's teacher must expect that he or she can learn, and deliver the curriculum accordingly. They want teachers to be on task as much as possible.

Their specific ongoing parental role is to support the school in its maintenance of high academic standards. However, these parents also firmly believe that they are competent judges of whether children are being adequately instructed. They prefer that, in relation to their child, the authority of teachers and administrators be subject only to the authority of themselves.

Deliberate response pattern

There are five key elements of this response pattern.

1. First, these parents believe good teachers are absolutely essential for children to learn. Because the parents firmly believe that children cannot learn without good teachers, the hallmark of an excellent school is excellent teaching. In short, parents are not educators, teachers are;

2. Second, these parents believe that good schooling provides training in communication, organizational, and generally, social skills. Success in school, and success in life, require exposure to such training in part because it enhances self-confidence.

3. Third, these parents openly express dissatisfaction with the poor quality of education they experienced as children. They are very determined that their children receive something better; they want a good educational foundation, order and structure in the classroom, and an enriched curriculum that provides for the special needs and talents of their child;

4. Fourth, these parents have very high educational and occupational standards. They typically project professional status for their child; they are definitely not content to let the child decide for itself; and

5. These parents particularly like small classes because they believe they provide more opportunities for personalized individual attention and instruction. They frequently emphasize that the special attention received and needed by their child could not be provided in schools with larger classes.

Summary definition: Deliberate choice model

Parents in this category choose private schooling primarily to introduce academic as well as social skills they perceive they are unable to give their child elsewhere (e.g., home, public schools). The school is perceived as playing a vital, independent, role in the total development of the child. It is the school's responsibility to nurture the individual talents of the child in order to maximize her or his opportunities for social mobility. Parents expect the school to provide an educational experience for their child that includes quality instruction in basic skill areas, and exposure to desirable social skills.

School is a place to "learn all about the world and how to get along in it." Communication and organizational skills are as important as learning to read and write. Teachers, rather than parents can accomplish these tasks because of their pedagogical expertise, and therefore, dedicated teachers are highly respected.

These parents believe the private school experience will extend the child's college and career choices. Such choices may not have been available to the parents when they themselves completed high school. A private education will ensure the child with the necessary qualifications to enter a "good college", which will eventually guarantee the child high occupational status attainment.

Humanistic response pattern

There are six key elements in this response pattern.

1. First, these parents want their children to learn in an environment that is pleasant, joyful, and relatively noncompetitive. They judge the goodness of a school according to whether children are both academically productive and happy within it, and they feel very competent of making such judgment;

2. Second, the parents stress the importance of teachers who create an atmosphere that fosters curiosity, creativity, and problem-solving as necessary components of the learning process;

3. Third, these parents believe that parents and teachers generally should have an open, close relationship; communication

about the child's welfare and development should be frequent; and both formal and informal channels should be used;

4. Fourth, parents believe that small classes and individualized instruction are important elements to a child's productive and happy life in school;

5. Fifth, parents expect the school to play an important, significant role in the child's general personal-social development; and

6. Sixth, parents believe that excessive bureaucratic rigidity and constraints in many schools thwart these essentials of quality education.

Summary definition: Humanistic choice model

Parents who choose private schooling primarily for humanistic reasons emphasize the kind of person they want their child to become, and the kind of personal-social relationships they want their child to have while in the process of "becoming." They are keenly aware of their child's unique talents, strengths and weaknesses, and they expect the child's schooling experiences to capitalize on the child's unique individual expressions. They may stress that they want their child to be challenged academically, but they are just as likely to stress that they want their child to mature socially as a consequence of its close, personal contacts with adults and children who may hold different, but complementary, values and perspectives.

These parents expect close ties between their family and the school. They view the child's learning and development as essentially a result of a partnership between themselves and their child's teachers. The school's role is one of extension of the family's role as educator. Feelings generated as a result of the child's interactions are important dimensions of the teaching-learning process. Teachers are expected to thoughtfully attend to children's feelings, and to respond to them. In short, the school is perceived as an extension of the family; parents are looking for an educational environment that is child-centered and affect-based; the focus is on what the child needs to develop.

Flexibility and responsibility are highly desirable qualities of a school, as far as these parents are concerned. Children should be able to learn how to learn independently; this means that all school activities are considered from the vantage point of their contribution to a quality education for the child. Further, teachers and administrations are expected to accommodate to any immediate familial exigencies which could affect the child's learning and participation in school. They understand that the willingness of school faculty and staff to accommodate is frequently contingent upon the expected close ties established as a result of continuing, reciprocal exchanges of both material and nonmaterials resources between themselves and the school.

Moral response pattern

There are two key elements of this response pattern.

1. First, these parents firmly believe that a quality education addresses the spiritual side of a child's development, equally as well as the basics and/or an enriched curriculum. Therefore, a key focus of the child's education is the development of its moral and social character; and

2. Second, the parents prefer a disciplined, ordered learning environment in which children learn to behave in accordance with respected adults' standards and expectations.

Summary definition: Moral choice model

Parents who choose private schooling primarily for moral reasons consider ethics and morality to be essential elements of a good school's curriculum. Learning the difference between right and wrong, obedience and respectfulness, are as highly valued outcomes for children by the families as is learning the basics of reading, writing, and mathematical computations. Other studies and school activities are considered secondary and/or more appropriate for discussion at home.

Teachers are revered as the ultimate authority in academic as well as social issues. Learning is best accomplished in an ordered and disciplined environment. Parents expect that the child's education will equip him or her with the academic requisites to pursue a higher education. When describing what their career goals are for their child, the parents tend to be very specific about acceptable occupations, such as doctor or lawyer.

One or more of the parents is likely to have attended a parochial school. The school's role is to carry on the cultural moralistic tradition that the parents may have received as children. The school is viewed as the key factor in transmitting the cultural moral history of the family across generations.

Practical response pattern

There are five key elements of this response pattern.

1. First, these parents expect teachers to be nurturing, and thus demonstrate concern for the academic and social-emotional needs of the child;

2. Second, these parents are especially sensitive to any signs of rejection or indifference on the part of school faculty or staff toward themselves or their children; such behavior is intolerable;

3. Third, the parents look to the school for support of their own learning and parenting; they highly respect the expertise and advice of school personnel;

4. Fourth, the parents believe that the "good parent" provides the best education affordable for the child; and

5. Fifth, the parents believe the goal of education is to prepare oneself for a respectable job in society; schools have the ultimate authority in this preparatory process.

Summary definition: Practical choice model

Of utmost importance to those parents who exemplify the practical choice model is that the teacher must demonstrate care and concern for the academic and emotional needs of the child. Often based on their own reported past and/or present experiences and observations, unfairness, insolence and rudeness by the school to themselves or their children is intolerable. In a world that these parents frequently perceive of as violent and unstable, the school serves as a sanctuary where the child can be safe and thus learn in a protected environment. Therefore, school climate is very important to these parents, and they respond loyally and warmly to a climate which they feel is caring, supportive and respectful of their child and themselves.

These parents look to the school for support of their own learning and parenting. They respect the advice and expertise of the school personnel on all educational matters as they may not necessarily be knowledgeable as to how children learn and develop.

In the view of these parents, good parents are those individuals who try to provide the best education they can possibly afford for their child. Consequently, it is not unusual to find that many of these parents are making considerable personal sacrifices to send their children to private school.

Finally, these parents, while maintaining that education is very important, firmly believe that the primary aim of education is to prepare oneself for a respectable job.

Traditional response pattern

There are five key elements of this response pattern.

1. First, these parents believe firmly in the importance of a high quality college preparatory learning environment, beginning as early as elementary school, if not before;

2. Second, the parents believe that the best education is in private schooling because such schools provide the necessary exposure to an enriched curriculum. One or both family members often have a prior history of private school attendance, and the options considered for the child were usually limited to the pool of available private schools;

3. Third, the parents emphasize the importance of competent, knowledgeable teachers to the educational process, however;

4. Fourth, these parents also have a strong belief in their child's intellectual potential; they place considerable emphasis on training the child to be an effective competitor; and

5. Fifth, these parents emphasize that the social reputation of the child's peers is very important; peers' families should share similar educational and social values.

Summary definition: Traditional choice model

Parents who exemplify the traditional choice model are committed to a belief that the best training for the high achievement goals they have for their children is found in private schools. They want their children to be inspired to work hard, to compete successfully, and to excel. They look to an enriched college preparatory curriculum, and the reputation of a rigorous learning environment to develop these child attributes. The school should provide the child with a strong foundation in the basic skills, but should also prepare the child, through an enriched curriculum, to assume a leadership position in the existing society.

In contrast to other parents, in the views of these parents, teachers per se are not perceived of as having special status; they are expected to be competent and knowledgeable of their subject matter so that they can contribute significantly to the development of the child's inherent intellectual potential. Almost as important as teachers is the school social environment. After school peer group contacts are encouraged among schoolmates, and many parents may go to elaborate lengths to ensure that their children interact with socially acceptable peers. Parents are especially sensitive to what other (perceived) like-minded parents do with, or provide for, their children. Comments such as "Everybody sends their child to private school in this area..." are not uncommon. It is likely that one or both parents attended a private elite school, and therefore, private education per se is a social symbol, a symbol of familial prestige. These parents believe that the good school provides the socially appropriate "lens" through which children, by observation and by actual experimentation, learn about the good life and the best that this civilization offers. Therefore, the good school conserves the essential values of family and home, as these parents understand them.

### Interrater Reliability: Parental Educational Goals

Table 8-2 presents information on interrater agreements with project classification of the family goals of 18 participating families. The rater received training and later feedback after classifying the first five cases. Therefore, these cases are not counted in the final estimate of perceived agreement. The 13 cases used in the final estimate represent 10 percent of the families interviewed (N = 131). Cases were chosen randomly within specific goal categories so that all six categories would be represented. Percent agreement between the rater and the final project classification is 77%.

Table 8-2

Interrater Reliability: Classification of Family Goals[a]

| Case # | Reliability Coder Classification | Project Classification |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Traditional | Traditional |
| 2 | Practical | Deliberate[b] |
| 3 | Traditional | Traditional |
| 4 | Authoritative | Humanistic[b] |
| 5 | Practical | Practical |
| 6 | Traditional | Traditional |
| 7 | Humanistic | Humanistic |
| 8 | Humanistic | Humanistic |
| 9 | Deliberate | Deliberate |
| 10 | Practical | Deliberate[b] |
| 11 | Practical | Traditional[b] |
| 12 | Authoritative | Authoritative |
| 13 | Humanistic | Humanistic |
| 14 | Practical | Practical |
| 15 | Moral | Moral |
| 16 | Moral | Moral |
| 17 | Humanistic | Deliberate[b] |
| 18 | Humanistic | Humanistic |

---

[a] Percent Agreement based on Post-Training of Cases 6-18 = 77%

[b] Disagreement

Aside from training and the use of practice cases, the unmarried, undergraduate, white male student rater had the Coding Manual for Parental Educational Goals (see Appendix A) available as a guide for his decision-making. Analysis of his disagreements with project classifications suggests that the disagreements are not entirely random because three of the five disagreements result from his use of the Practical classification. After the ratings, he stated he had been influenced by the family's life situation, as described by the primary caregiver. Unlike project staff, he thought that the personal situations of several primary caregivers (e.g., a recently-divorced single parent who had experienced a dramatic change in life style) had a great impact upon educational goals for the children. Project staff were more conservative in their inferences, focusing upon what parents said about their child and its school, and therefore, may have neglected some opportunities to make the Practical classification in other than the Catholic school. Middle and upper-income parents may differ from less affluent parents in how they express concern that the child feel secure and valued in school. Given the stresses upon all families today, the rater's insights are important to consider in future researches.

Two highly discrepant classifications were made in only one instance: Case number 17. Project staff had originally found this family difficult to classify. The parents worked for their child's school, and the reliability rater probably thought the choice of the school for the child indicated a strong preference for family-centered authority for the child's education. However, project staff were encouraged to focus on how parents characterized the role of the school in current family life, and this family saluted school-centered authority for the child's education.

## Parental Educational Goals: Results

Table 8-3 presents the frequency distributions by school and race, of the six identified parental educational goals. The first study hypothesis was that black parents would choose private schools in accordance with their own educational goals for their children. Therefore, it was predicted that there would be school differences within race among the six parental goals (see chapter 4, p. 76). Chi-square analyses by school of goal distributions within race indicated a highly significant effect for school, $X^2$ (15,$\underline{N}$ = 73) = 72.62, $\underline{p}$ = .00. Numbers in parentheses in Table 8-3 correspond to percentages of row totals. The modal classification of black parents at Monroe is Humanistic, while at Oak Lawn it is Deliberate. The modal classification at St. August is Practical. However, at Roman there is a bimodal distribution, with Deliberate and Traditional being equally often identified response patterns.

Table 8-3

Frequency Distributions of Parental Goal Classifications by School and Race

| | Parental Educational Goal | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Authoritative | Deliberate | Humanistic | Moral | Practical | Traditional | Total |
| School | | | | | | | |
| Monroe | | | | | | | |
| Black | 7 | 6 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 22 |
| | (31.8) | (27.3) | (40.9) | (0) | (0) | (0) | (100) |
| Nonblack | 3 | 1 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 15 |
| | (20.0) | ( 6.7) | (66.7) | (0) | (0) | ( 6.7) | (100) |
| Total | 10 | 7 | 19 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 37 |
| | (27.0) | (18.9) | (51.4) | (0) | (0) | ( 2.7) | (100) |
| Oak Lawn | | | | | | | |
| Black | 4 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 16 |
| | (25.0) | (43.8) | (12.5) | (0) | (0) | (18.8) | (100) |
| Nonblack | 0 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 13 |
| | (0) | (30.8) | (46.2) | ( 7.7) | (0) | (15.4) | (100) |
| Total | 4 | 11 | 8 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 29 |
| | (13.8) | (37.9) | (27.6) | ( 3.4) | (0) | (17.2) | (100) |
| Roman | | | | | | | |
| Black | 1 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 15 |
| | ( 6.7) | (40.0) | (13.3) | (0) | (0) | (40.0) | (100) |
| Nonblack | 2 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 15 |
| | (13.3) | ( 6.7) | (33.3) | ( 6.7) | (0) | (40.0) | (100) |
| Total | 3 | 7 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 12 | 30 |
| | (10.0) | (23.3) | (23.3) | ( 3.3) | (0) | (40.0) | (100) |
| St. August | | | | | | | |
| Black | 2 | 3 | 0 | 6 | 9 | 0 | 20 |
| | (10.0) | (15.0) | (0) | (30.0) | (45.0) | (0) | (100) |
| Nonblack | 0 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 15 |
| | (0) | (26.7) | (0) | (26.7) | (26.7) | (20.0) | (100) |
| Total | 2 | 7 | 0 | 10 | 13 | 3 | 35 |
| | ( 5.7) | (20.0) | (0) | (28.6) | (37.1) | ( 8.6) | (100) |
| All Schools | | | | | | | |
| Black | 14 | 22 | 13 | 6 | 9 | 9 | 73 |
| | (19.2) | (30.1) | (17.8) | ( 8.2) | (12.3) | (12.3) | (100) |
| Nonblack | 5 | 10 | 21 | 6 | 4 | 12 | 58 |
| | ( 8.6) | (17.2) | (36.2) | (10.3) | ( 6.9) | (20.7) | (100) |
| Total | 19 | 32 | 34 | 12 | 13 | 21 | 131 |
| | (14.5) | (24.4) | (26.0) | ( 9.2) | ( 9.9) | (16.0) | (100) |

*Note*. Numbers in parentheses are percentages of Row totals.

Chi-square analyses of goal distributions among nonblack parents across the four schools also indicated a highly significant effect for school, $X^2$ (15,$\underline{N}$ = 58) = 40.29, $\underline{p}$ = .00. The modal classification at Monroe and Oak Lawn is Humanistic, while at Roman it is Traditional. At St. August there is a trimodal distribution, with Deliberate, Moral, and Practical being equally often identified response patterns. Using all parents in the study sample, further chi-square analyses indicated a highly significant effect for school, $X^2$ (15,$\underline{N}$ = 131) = 99.28, $\underline{p}$ = .00, and a significant effect for race, $X^2$ (5,$\underline{N}$ = 131) = 11.43, $\underline{p}$ = .04. However, these analyses of the nominal data did not permit examination of the interactive effects of school and race upon the distribution of response patterns. For this purpose, estimation modelling for discrete dependent variables was included in the data analyses (Hanushek & Jackson, 1977).

Log-linear analysis is a technique for analyzing nominal data that calculates the probability of any particular cell occurrance, given the distribution of responses in the total matrix. The model estimates the probability that observed frequencies could occur by chance if the estimated structure is accurate. The smaller the $X^2$ value, the more likely the null hypothesis (i.e., no difference between observed frequencies and the estimated matrix) cannot be rejected. The dependent variable is essentially the log odds of being in a certain cell. The larger the sample in each cell or table entry, the more precise the total estimate of the variance of the logits (Hanushek & Jackson, 1977, p. 198). For purposes of this study, it is additionally assumed that each parent at each school, black and nonblack, had the same probability of exhibiting any one of the six educational goals (i.e., 1/6 = .167). The modal goal response patterns of black parents were predicted to differ by school but no hypotheses were advanced as to how they would differ such that one classification was favored over others. Similarly, no hypotheses were advanced as to how black and nonblack middle-income parents would differ in their educational aims. In each instance differences were expected because the four schools and the two racial groups were known to have differing historical roots within the American educational community (see chapters 2-4), but the response patterns were inductively derived from the data.

Results of log-linear analyses using all data in Table 8-3 indicate nonsignificant chi-square effects for goals x race x school interactions, $X^2$ (15,$\underline{N}$ = 131) = 11.87, $\underline{p}$ = .69, and for goals x race, $X^2$ (5,$\underline{N}$ = 131) = 10.12, $\underline{p}$ = .07. However, there is a highly significant effect for goals x school, $X^2$ (15,$\underline{N}$ = 131) = 77.10, $\underline{p}$ = .00. In anticipating that the obtained results could be unduly biased because the Practical response pattern did not emerge in three of the four schools (i.e., in the clear majority of schools), upon the advice of a statistical consultant data in Table 8-3 were reanalyzed, deleting this response pattern from the total matrix. The results of log-linear analyses using five response patterns (i.e., Authoritative, Deliberate, Humanistic, Moral, and Traditional) indicate nonsignificant chi-square effects for goals x race x school interactions, $X^2$ (12,$\underline{N}$ = 118) = 11.15, $\underline{p}$ = .52. However, significant effects were obtained for goals x race, $X^2$ (4,$\underline{N}$ = 118) = 9.59, $\underline{p}$ = .05, and for goals x school, $X^2$ (12,$\underline{N}$ = 118) = 50.49, p = .00. This second log-linear analysis, which also corresponds to preliminary descriptive chi-square analyses in its results, has been accepted as the most valid, conservative interpretation of obtained data on parental educational goals.

Had more black and nonblack parents at each school been interviewed, it is possible that racial differences within three of the four schools would have emerged in the distribution of response patterns. The modal response pattern for blacks and nonblacks differed (see Table 8-3) at Oak Lawn. At St. August, there is a clear modal response pattern for blacks, but not for nonblacks. At Roman, there is a clear pattern for nonblacks, but not for blacks. Only at Monroe is the modal response pattern identical for black and nonblack parents.

However, considering all black and nonblack parents, blacks are more likely to be classified as Deliberate or Authoritative, relative to their educational aims, while nonblacks are more likely to be classified as Humanistic or Traditional.

Parents of Monroe children, generally, are more likely to be classified as Humanistic, and parents of Oak Lawn children as Deliberate. Parents of Roman children are more likely to be classified as Traditional, and parents of St. August children as Practical. However, nonblack parents at Monroe, and black parents at Oak Lawn and St. August contribute disproportionately to these results. Black and nonblack parents contribute equally to results obtained at Roman.

### Conclusion

This chapter provided evidence that black parents do differ in their educational goals even when, as a group, they are financially secure enough to afford private schooling for their children. There are significant differences in the distribution of goals between the four study schools. However, nonblack parents also differ by school in their educational goals. In three of the four schools (Monroe, Roman, St. August), the sample of nonblack parents was drawn from a list of parents whose children had been observed to be friendly to one or more attending black children. As a result, the finding that modal responses of the two parent groups tend to differ in three of the four schools (Roman, Oak Lawn, St. August) is important. This tendency aggregates into a race effect when all data are considered.

Typically, however, black parents at a given school are more similar to nonblack parents at that school than to black parents at other schools. Overall school effects are greater than overall race effects. The data indicate that although black parents do have preferred educational goals (i.e., Deliberate, Authoritative), they respond flexibly to the school environments in which their children participate. The Deliberate response pattern encapsulates the vision of education as a vehicle of social mobility and opportunity; the school is a crucible in which the necessary socialization skills are acquired for this purpose. Schools are expected to transform their clientele into persons able to realize that which is best about the American dream. The Authoritative response pattern projects a vision of education in which the family assumes an assertive, protective stance in relation to the totality of the child's socialization experiences, at home and in school. The quality of the child's academic-related social relationships must be monitored if the child is to be productive in a complex, too-frequently hostile, world. The family is ultimately very responsible for the child's emergence as an "educated" person.

Other researchers have found that parents whose children attend parochial schools are not necessarily adherents of the school's religious faith (e.g., Cibulka, et al., 1982). In this study, the parents of such children particularly appreciate the warmth, caring, and respect that they perceive themselves and their children to receive from school personnel. The aims of education are to include basic respect and valuation of the individual student and its family, in a community setting in which perhaps all too often, such esteem and deference may be missing.

Generally, there are three alternative interpretations of these findings. First, the parents may have chosen the schools in accordance with their educational goals. Second, the schools may have chosen pupils whose parents have educational goals that initially coincide with their own. A corollary is that the children of such parents are more likely to be retained in the schools. Third, parents and each school, from the moment of initial inquiries about admissions, engage in a mutual, reciprocal interactive socialization process in which the school's philosophy is gradually internalized by the sending parents, partly because of perceptions of benefits to the child. Given study findings, this third position is the one most favored.

Few parents reported being as systematic and rational as might be expected, given the personal costs to them, in their educational planning for their children. In fact, response patterns differed in this very respect, with parents showing Authoritative and Humanistic response patterns being far more definite than other parents about the family's authority for the child's education. Frequently, parents offering Traditional and Moral response patterns simply continued to support a habitual preference for private schooling that had continued in their families for one or more generations. These parents firmly placed the major responsibility for education with the schools.

Second, the four schools tolerate a wide range of educational aims within their communities. No fewer than three goal classifications were found in each school, among black and nonblack parents. In fact, there were more identified parental educational goals than schools. Although all schools have a central tendency, each individual school community also embraces a wide value stretch. The schools accept and retain children whose parents differ from them in how they perceive the educational mission to be best defined, and perhaps, realized.

Only the third interpretation seems especially useful: Schools and families engage in mutual transactions over time in which the overall school community's sense of educational purpose, mission, or identity is continually defined and reaffirmed. These "rituals of reaffirmation" constitute a socialization process that is educationally beneficial to children (see chapter 10). Not all parents sought greater control and authority of the family in the child's education; not all showed evidence of high value congruence between themselves and the schools. Other data indicated that not all were especially keen on desegregation per se. In any event, the distinguishing features between parents did not pivot around finances, disaffection with neighborhood public schools, or racially segregated schools.

It is concluded that black parents are sending their children to private schools because the schools have an educational purpose or mission with which they can eventually identify. It is precisely the diversity in available schools that is attractive to the black community. Each family may find a school whose educational goals, even if not entirely isomorphic to its own, are found to be sufficiently engaging and satisfactory when expressed in the daily, weekly, monthly, and yearly rituals of reaffirmation. Chapters 9 and 11-12 continue and concretize this discussion, using data from school-based interviews and observations.

# Chapter 9

# The Private Schools Attended By Black Children

## Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the four private schools attended by the black children in this study. This description will be offered only from the perspectives of administrators, faculty, and parents identified by administrators as "parent leaders." Such parents, according to the administrators, exemplify constructive commitment to the identified goals of the school. In the study, each of the top administrators were interviewed, and no fewer than three parent leaders at each of the four schools. Six to nine faculty were interviewed at each school; these persons were chosen after administrator interviews according to academic specialization, length of service, race, sex, and grade level(s) taught. Each school will be discussed in order of its longevity: Oak Lawn, Roman, St August, and Monroe. Though all have existed for over ten years, Oak Lawn, for example, is the oldest established school, and Monroe is the youngest. In this chapter, no comparisons between schools will be explicitly developed. Common thematic criteria are addressed in the school descriptions, but emphasis in the four descriptions is upon the most salient, defining features of each school's culture. Comparative perspectives are offered in chapters 10-13.

Three broad areas will be covered in the descriptions: first, the history of each school; second, its educational goals; and third, its major strategies for achieving the goals. These are areas thought essential to an understanding of the experiences of the middle-school-aged black students and their families within the schools. In particular, the educational goals of each school will be analyzed in view of those inductively-identified themes found important to distinguishing parents' educational goals (see chapter 8). There will be discussion of each school's perception of where the primary authority for the child's education resides, of each school's conceptualization of the role and function of curriculum in children's learning and development, of each school's approach to cultural and motivational factors in student achievement and of each school's identified long-range academic and personal-social aspirations for its children.

The history of each school is very important because the history serves to establish its identity. It is especially important to obtain the views of diverse faculty with respect to the history because American society is continually changing, and when societies change, schools also change. Why was the school established? What do administrators and faculty understand of that initial purpose, and what effect, if any, does it have upon how the school currently perceives its educational mission? Finally, how is the enrollment of black students interpreted in view of the school's historical and continuing mission?

It is assumed that each school will vigorously attempt to realize its primary educational mission. How is this to be achieved? In particular, how is this to be achieved relative to inclusion of its students and its families in the school community? What do school administrators and faculty perceive to be some of the more significant social barriers to achieving racial equity within the school, and within American society generally, particularly insofar as this is the world in which the black students will live and work once their formal education is completed.

The primary focus of these descriptions necessarily means that much information obtained about each school cannot be included at this time. The cooperation and enthusiasm of school faculty are deeply cherished.

## Oak Lawn

The educational program of Oak Lawn school operates in five buildings. They are located on spacious grounds on Chicago's far southside. The 20-acre campus (including two athletic fields) is attractive, even scenic, and seemingly almost cloistered in demeanor. Most buildings are old, and of stable solid brick, reminding one of a college, rather than elementary and secondary school, campus. The campus is relatively secluded and removed from the busy, but essentially residential, street which runs east and west in front of the local Community Arts Center. The recessed location does not encourage informal, spontaneous exploration by outside private citizens. The Faculty Handbook describes Oak Lawn as a "closed campus," and the Oak Lawn Handbook for Parents and Students indicates that all students are required to attend lunch each day in the dining hall under supervision of faculty members and student proctors. Persons who enter this campus enter purposefully.

Moving clockwise when facing the Arts Center from the inside of the campus, one building houses the library and dining room; a second, the gymnasium; and a third and fourth, the respective lower and middle, and upper schools and administrative offices. To the east of these schools is a parking lot on which campus buses are located during the day. The fleet of buses is available to pick up and drop off students who may come from as far south as the state of Indiana or as far north as Waukegan, Illinois to attend the school. During a school day, students regularly attend classes, lunch, and recreational activities in the diverse buildings. Inside the buildings housing academic classes, classrooms are small, comfortably seating no more than 20 to 25 students; administratives offices and halls are handsomely panelled in solid wood. Both features of these buildings contribute to a cozy, sedate lived-in atmosphere. However, despite its considerably larger size, the school's dining room conveys the same sense. The physical layout of Oak Lawn is proud, commanding, and usually quiet.

### School history

By midwestern American standards, Oak Lawn is an old school. It was founded with ten students in 1873, 97 years after the American Revolution and, in 1983, celebrated its 110th anniversary. School brochures identify four phases in its historical development. Phase one, lasting about 18 years, is best characterized as a period in which Oak Lawn was a private military and classical academy that provided education for children of families living in a then unsettled area south of existing Chicago city boundaries. Phase two, spanning roughly 25 years (1892-1907), was a time when Oak Lawn was coeducational and had a close affiliation with a then developing, soon-to-become major, private university in Chicago. Phase three (1907-1958) saw Oak Lawn as a private, all-male military academy with boarding facilities for students, some of whom came from as far away as Mexico and South America. According to the headmaster, since 1958, Oak Lawn has dropped its military focus, become coeducational again (1959), expanded its campus and immediate community ties (The local Community Arts Center, built by the school with cooperative community support, has resided as an independent corporation on the campus since 1969.), and enrolled significant numbers of black students (beginning in 1967). Presently, the school enrolls about 475 students in grades kindergarten (pre-first) through 12. About sixty-seven percent of these students are below ninth grade. There are about 47 faculty, for an estimated 1/11 teacher-student ratio.

The growth and development of Oak Lawn is closely tied to the growth and development of the far southside of Chicago. A land grant from a development company provided initial support. Later, after a fire (1874) support came from the developing private university which originally planned to house itself in the area and to attach the school as a preparatory school for the university. Still later, two military colonels with close ties to that same university, who had also taught at Oak Lawn, supported and influenced the school's directions. A Charter was formally granted by the state to the school in 1914, establishing it as a not-for-profit educational institution.

The current headmaster summarizes the end of the military era, and the transition to the present as follows: In the very early 50's, the school underwent, I think a period of some decline, financially, educationally...It was a boarding school in the midwest...and although it was still a first-rate school, especially its honor status...of a military academy...the Board decided that they had to strengthen the academic status of the school and when they sought an administrator to do this, most of the candidates felt very strongly that the school could not continue as a single-sex military boarding school and accomplish the kind of educational goals it wanted to...in 1958 at the end of the academic year, 57-58, which was the end of my first year here, the announcement was made that the school would demilitarize...We began in the early 60's phasing out the boarding department and by the time I became headmaster in 1966 we had a segment of girls, perhaps 20 or 25 percent at the most...there was a lot of strong feeling against the move on the part of alumni (who felt) a school that had been extremely rich in tradition lost a lot of tradition at that point...It's been less than 25 years. I think the tradition that has developed since that time is...excellence in education and college admissions...As far as maintaining traditions from the past we have been working for the past several years with increasing success to reunite the old military alumni with the school...We still refer to the Morning Report, the sheet on which we have attendance and announcements, and that's a military term. The names of the buildings and ground areas are from previous years, but there is surprisingly little tradition as such for a school as old as it is...

Nonetheless, Oak Lawn has an impressive array of written documents which explain its current educational philosophy, policies and practices in all facets of school life. Many documents are revised on an annual basis. During the study it was possible to inspect school brochures and flyers; admissions materials; information bulletins for parents and students at upper and lower/middle grades; the faculty handbook; the program syllabus (a compendium of school philosophy, guiding principles, subject area goals, and course description and objectives); upper, middle, and lower school "Administrivia" (resource guides to daily school policies); alumni newsletters; summer school catalogs; time-bound publications (e.g., Lawn News 110th Commencement Edition, May 26, 1983); and school copies of the reports based upon recent professional evaluations of the North Central Association (NCA) and the Independent Schools Association of the Central States (ISACS). Two community newspapers regularly feature information about Oak Lawn. The 10,000 book/periodical campus library contains other materials, including school-related newspaper and magazine clippings.

The headmaster indicates he is largely responsible for encouraging the extensive documentation of much of Oak Lawn's philosophy, policies, and practices: "...a lot (i.e., school policies, etc.) inherited--goodness knows where they came from, and certainly when I became headmaster what we did not have was anything in written fashion...One of the things that I have done is to get in writing as much of school policy as we could..." As an interesting example, the dress code of Oak Lawn's students is written as follows: "Student dress must be clean, neat, modest, appropriate, and non-bizarre. During the school day, students are not to wear blue jeans or shorts. Tank tops, T-shirts, and halter tops or bare midriff tops are not considered appropriate. Shoes must be worn at all times. High heels and excessive use of cosmetics and/or jewelry should be avoided...(the) School reserves the right to be the judge..." Students not following the dress code are sent home. The extensive effort at written communication must surely contribute to the relatively informed consensus held by parents, teachers, and other administrative staff interviewed as to the outlines of Oak Lawn's history and goals.

### Educational goals

The educational goals of any school govern the socialization experiences students, including black students, have in it. Compared with elementary schooling, only children's families have equivalent or greater impact upon their learning and development. However, Oak Lawn's educational mission deliberately and self-consciously deemphasizes the family's responsibility for the child's education; responsibility rests with the school itself. The headmaster, when asked what he saw as the difference between the teacher's job and the parent's job in helping children to learn, responded: "...we don't expect the parent to do our job, but we want the parent to be supportive of what we're doing, be encouraging to the child. Now when a specific situation...a child is having difficulty with reading, learning concepts...the teacher will ask the parent will you spend some time with him at home, review his work, check his homework and see that it's done, restrict his television time...We don't encourage parents to hire tutors outside of school...we like to see the parents concentrate on things like piano lessons, or dance lessons, or voice lessons, or elocution, that kind of peripheral thing outside of school...a lot of our parents are teachers, probably among black families they average one per family..."

The headmaster's sentiments are generally shared by other interviewed administrators, faculty, and parents. However, opinions differ about how parents should be involved in the school, and especially about the role of the children's home environments in their academic achievements. Further, some parents do hire tutors, and others are perceived by faculty to be overly concerned with their children's school performances. Commenting on her goals for newcomers to the school, the lower and middle school principal states: ...The goals are to make each child as able as he can, we want him to achieve at his highest level but we want him to feel comfortable about it, we want him to achieve at his highest level but we want him to feel comfortable about it, we don't want him to become frustrated...I believe that children are people. I want them to be treated like people, but I want them to act like people. And I think that if you have high expectations of children, you get more out of them...The thing I notice the most in the black parents is they are probably more anxious to push their children academically than sometimes the children are able to handle...Jewish mother syndrome...is the black father. He comes in fights, bleeds, and dies because he thinks his child should be in a top reading group or that sort of thing...when we didn't have many black kids they (parents) were super sensitive about certain things...it seemed to me black parents rightly would choose to have one child and produce this child as the person who is going to do everything and put all of their time and their money into the one child...And...this child would come to school unable to handle the give and take, and to be a little dickens. I have a hard time convincing the mother because he behaves beautifully at home. And, he does, because he is with adults who cater to him, and they (black parents) tend to think it is because they are black than because they are only children...And I have always stood my ground...I just don't believe in dual standards and I never have and I don't believe in them now...we try to make everybody feel that they are just part of a group who goes to this school rather than clumping them into we are the Indians and we are the blacks and we are the Koreans, because there is enough of that in life, because people tend to seek their own kind anyway...

Although there are many established vehicles for active parental participation in this school, as a matter of school policy, parents are not encouraged to visit classrooms. Once annually during the admissions process classrooms are open for parental observations. Few resident parents take advantage of this opportunity. To the question of whether parents are encouraged to spend time in the school, the principal of lower and middle school responds during the headmaster's interview: "To some extent...we really do discourage it. There will be a problem and the parent will come and sit in the classroom to see this problem. That's absolutely ridiculous because if the parent is in the classroom, the problem is not the same. The classroom is not the same. The classrooms are small enough so that the addition of an outside person is going to change the whole climate of the classroom." Both the headmaster and the principal state that they try to avoid placing faculty children in their parents' classes. The headmaster continues: "...It's a disruption...when we built...we purposefully kept them small for closeness of interaction between the teacher and the student and bringing in one adult outsider is really a significant factor within the whole classroom..."

In the lower and middle school, established vehicles for parental involvement include: five to six marking periods in which parents receive grade reports and at least two written essay commentaries on students' academic work; biannual parent-teacher conferences; support of the annual giving drive (Each parent is expected to give about 10% of tuition paid.); room mothers; a Mother's Club (It voluntarily runs the Campus

Bookstore) and a Father's club, both of which initiate support for traditionally-approved fund-raising efforts; and service on the 30-member Board of Trustees that meets monthly during the school calendar year. Of course, throughout the academic year there are many student and faculty initiated academic programs at which parental attendance is expected and encouraged.

Administrators, but not faculty, report constant contact with parents. The educative style of the individual faculty member is an important determinant of the extent and scope of his or her contacts with the classroom students' parents. On this matter, faculty appear to adhere closely to school policy, while at the same time being especially appreciative of compliments, gifts received from parents. A teacher commented that Oak Lawn "...sees itself as providing parents with worry-free education for students...we provide everything...offer the best possible education we can..."

However, one highly involved black parent differed sharply with this view: "It's frustrating and distressing sometimes...that black parents are not as involved as they should be...Most of our parents work, both work, they say there's no time. Okay, I work, too. But I find the time--we both (she and her husband) do. I feel that if they're there (i.e., the children), you must do volunteer work...Many...parents feel that...the tuition is in itself enough; that the school takes over from there. But, you never just turn your children over to someone; they can be so misguided at those early years..." When queried as to what she would do if she had more time to spend toward enhancing the school's sense of community she stated she would most like to: "Figure out a way to get more of the parents to actually be involved in the school, at least get some input..." Given Oak Lawn's history as a rigorous military boarding school, and its educational view of optimal classroom environments, in 1983 there is probably more parental involvement than there has been since the early 1900's. More importantly, at present Oak Lawn's perceived academic goals deemphasize the home teaching environment and stress effective curriculum delivery within the school.

Oak Lawn's academic objectives are reaffimed throughout its publications. A brochure developed on its 100th year of operation states: "If your plan is for one year, plant rice. If your plan is for ten years, plant trees. But if you would plan for a hundred years, educate men." In 1985, a recruitment advertisement in a leading Chicago magazine states: "As one of Chicago's oldest private schools, Oak Lawn represents an alternative to crowded classrooms, confusing curriculum, lack of discipline, and underachievement. Our classes are small, our college preparatory curriculum is rigorous, and our graduates go on to attend the finest colleges in the country. If you seek the finest educational opportunity for your child--in an atmosphere designed for learning--contact Oak Lawn today."

The Oak Lawn faculty approach to education is equated only with religious fervor. Both the headmaster and the lower and middle school principal are experienced educators. In addition, the headmaster has a strong background in theology and history, as well as an academic specialization in English language and literature. Following is his extensive comment when asked what he thought the essential elements of a quality education are for the children at Oak Lawn: ...I think that we see education as probably most importantly involving reading so...the heart of our entire academic program (begins) in kindergarten...its a kind of a continuing skill process, reading comprehension as you move on through and then reading interpretation as you deal with literature and then exposure to a broad range of types and styles of literature as they go on in the school. When I think of education, I see reading as being the underlying part of all of education...with those reading skills obviously well developed they are able to move on into other curriculum areas...with science...to teach students to be aware of the world around them, the physical and biological world...to be able to come to conclusions inductively and deductively in relation to phenomena that they experience and simply not to be afraid of the world that's outside of them...foreign languages (Beginning in the primary grades, French is taught)...a means of broadening, that there are other people in other parts of the world who use different languages and English is only one means of communication, and along with that realization, an understanding of the cultures of other countries and of the differences that do exist...history...so that they have some kind of concept of where they came from and where they are and where they might be headed, an understandng of what has brought us to where we are and what are the forces that have shaped and are at work on civilization...some exposure to the arts (but) I think it's more important to have a humanistic view of the world, to see the humanities as an integral part of life...an opportunity for physicalgrowthand development...have social opportunities... primarily my view of education is highly academic, fairly orderly, moderately traditional, structured kind of experience for children...don't put them in a straight jacket...(but) they need the structure and the discipline as they go along but freedom to go...with it...Later, he commented in the same interview: "...I think its important to recognize the fact that as an independent school, we put a lot of emphasis on the word independent and we want the students to be independent, and as much as possible we want the teachers to be independent...We don't want the students to be exposed to just one kind of teacher that represents one kind of thought and background and attitude and all the rest...we look for this purposefully (i.e., in teacher selection)...same is true of the students-we want them in the classroom situation to be very free to hold strongly to their opinions and we don't ask that they agree with the teacher, only that they have good arguments to substantiate their point of view..."

At Oak Lawn, it seems that the philosophical underpinnings of education are rooted in the conceptualization of the headmaster. The lower and middle school principal, having been in her current position for over 16 years, has played a crucial role in operationalizing the philosophy on a daily classroom basis: "...when I came to this school...it only had recently ceased to be a military school...the classes were such that each teacher decided what to teach and how they were going to teach it and it was sort of a hodge podge and I think that is probably how I got involved in it because it didn't seem to me that it made any sense that if the third grade teacher didn't know what the first grade teacher had been doing and if they were using totally different series of books and so gradually I began to put it all together...I tend to like order and it didn't make sense to me and it became more of a school..." As an example of how she approaches the eighth grade classes she teaches, she comments: "...I begin the year by telling them that I am not in the least bit interested in how creative they are. The creativity is a point that has been stressed along the way. At that point, I want them to become able to write clearly in an organized fashion. The kind of writing they are going to be judged by in the years they are going to school. And they have to be aware of the fact that...they are going to run up against classes where the teacher isn't going to know that they know everything and that they are very bright children and that they can express themselves very well orally. They are going to judge them on what is on that paper...by the time they have finished eighth grade they can write a very good expository paper of one, two or three pages long, which I think is pretty good for eighth graders..." At another point she comments: "...I have a thing about time span, I have a thing about it in my own class. No matter what I give my kids, they get papers back the next day, even if I have to stay up until one-o-clock in the morning because I don't think that tests or anything are important unless they are used by the students to learn from..."

Classes in the lower school are organized around five major subject areas: reading, language arts, social studies, arithmetic (two levels of achievement grouping), and science and health. French is also introduced at the pre-first grade; physical education and art/music/drama are also introduced in the lower school. In the middle school (grades six-eight) departmentalized studies are introduced, as this is thought to be preparatory for high school. As described in one document: "The primary factor in the formation of classes is the conscious realization of the individual need for an environment which provides opportunity for competition, success, support, guidance, and the development of a healthy self-concept..the Middle School program is not individualized in the sense that the term is used in schools today, but in teacher-centered classrooms, emphasis is placed upon extensive student-teacher interaction, with teachers available to students for academic assistance as necessary."

Aside from extensive efforts to publicize and communicate its clearly-identified academic goals, Oak Lawn administrators use three other main strategies for achieving them. The first strategy involves selecting highly competent teachers who, given the structured, written curriculum, can effectively deliver and innovate upon it in their classrooms. The second involves selecting students who can respond to an intimate, fast-paced educational learning environment with high instructional density. The third involves securing and retaining the trust and support of each key constituency in the school's community, students, teachers, parents, trustees, and staff, despite the extensive racial and ethnic diversity in the student and parent groups. The seven standing committees of the Board of Trustees are very important to this third strategy: This Board appoints and annually evaluates (usually very informally these days) the headmaster; he in turn recommends the appointment of faculty to this Board.

The focus of this study is upon how these strategies impact the lives of Oak Lawn's middle school black students. Subsequent chapters address the individual experiences of black students; this section concludes with a discussion of how Oak Lawn faculty perceive and accomplish the enrollment of competent black students (28% of the school population), their perceptions of the students' community and home environments, and the long-range aims for these students. First, the criteria for teacher selection will be discussed because the character and competence of the teacher is such a crucial factor to the successful implementation of Oak Lawn's educational goals. There are no black teachers in the lower and middle school at Oak Lawn, and there is only one in the upper school.

### Achieving goals

Oak Lawn's headmaster reports that in employing teachers he and the principals seek individuals who share their concept of education. In response to the question of how he would describe a successful, effective teacher at Oak Lawn, he comments: "...Well...for good or bad...students and even parents react to teachers as human beings, as personalities and while I would not set that up as the number one kind of thing, the individual must have the kind of personality as such that's going to make it possible for him to exercise his strengths in all these other areas...if the person is a dud , well you've lost before you ever start...intelligent because we're really dealing with a relatively intelligent level of student and the worst thing that could happen is for the teacher to be less intelligent than the run-of-the-mill student...educated in field...aware of other things...articulate...emotional stability...reasonably middle-of-the road...I'm always a little leery of a teacher who wants to teach (because) 'I just love kids'...a parent has to love the child...(the teacher must)...discipline...like them...(be) patient...(have) stamina...(Its) deadly when kids don't like a teacher...no learning takes place..."

In exchange, Oak Lawn offers the teacher the opportunity to be a genuine professional: "...I think that the compensations (for hard work, relatively low pay) that they see are the strength of the academic program and being able to work in such a school. Beyond that...they hold very importantly their freedom to act as a professional...to be recognized as such, and we try to give them the freedom...the feeling that they can accomplish something without a lot of red tape..." After listing his major responsibilities over the course of a given school year, the headmaster commented: "I suppose the most significant single thing that I do year in and year out is the appointment of teachers...retention and dismissal." This comment comes from a man who reports spending as "a fair estimate" about 60 hours a week at a job he has held for nearly 20 years.

Importantly, the headmaster does not identify the effective teacher with any particular personality (e.g., extroverted or introverted), teaching style or technique. In fact, he and the principals prefer to have the full spectrum of teachers along these, regarded as rather superficial, criteria. The emphasis is on social character and competence, not ideology, personality, nor technique.

Faculty at Oak Lawn respond variously to school policies as reflected by the headmaster, particularly the concept of academic freedom. Some are entirely in agreement; others do want to have a more active voice in decision-making beyond the classroom; still others want the headmaster to be more visible and personally communicative in daily academic affairs. However, nearly all, teachers and parents, respect his capabilities as their educational leader, and acknowledge academic freedom in their classrooms. Perhaps the headmaster, himself, poses one side of the dilemma at Oak Lawn today best: "...They (faculty) are not so much trying to affect policy in some way as they want freedom to go into the classroom and teach and if they want to read Grapes of Wrath with the kids, they want to read Grapes of Wrath they don't have someone to say 'No, you can't read that book'..."

Many current faculty would consider censorship of such a major literary work such a remote possibility in an urban school today that they would not cherish the significance of the headmaster's assertion. Other faculty, and some black parents in particular, are more troubled by what they perceive to be more contemporary issues, for example, the relative absence of minority faculty as role models for the children, whether minority or not, in a school of Oak Lawn's academic stature. As one black parent commented when asked how Oak Lawn compared with her "ideal school": "I would like to see more of our teachers there. We have fine, brilliant, black teachers, too."

Student selection and grade placement at Oak Lawn is done very carefully and deliberately. The research project interviewer felt that the official admissions officer was "not the center of power in admissions." The officer handles initial phone and mail contacts, appointment scheduling, and related clerical work associated with the entire process. She commented that Oak Lawn does not usually participate in cooperative recruiting programs with other independent schools. They have found local public and parochial schools reluctant to let them enter to recruit. Although she has a college degree, it is not in education, nor has she ever taught. Her father is an alumnus of Oak Lawn; she was alerted to the position after her oldest son was accepted and she needed employment. At present, her three children attend Oak Lawn. When parents present themselves, she does not interview them. She stated that the selection of students is primarily done by the headmaster and the principals.

Published documents reveal that every Oak Lawn student is enrolled for one year only, and must qualify by letter for reenrollment. Prior to the initial enrollment, prospective students are administered intelligence (IQ) and, if age-appropriate, achievement tests (Otis, Stanford). The majority of enrolled students have IQ's ranging from 110-129; in middle school less than seven percent have IQ's below 100. Test information, as well as the results of child observations and parent interviews are considered by an Admissions Committee, usually composed of administrators and some faculty. Afterwards, the headmaster allocates financial aid. Children of full-time employees get free tuition. Siblings of current students, children of alumni, and early applicants receive some preferential consideration. There is a ten percent reduction for siblings, and a few highly deserving students get direct tuition aid. The lower and middle school principal discusses the role of testing in the selection and retention of students as follows: ... First of all they have to be tested with an IQ test, but not so much because it is an IQ test. We use it because it has a lot of visual discrimination, vocabulary that we need to know and if the child does well on the test we are relatively assured that the child is going to do well in the school...we will test probably 40 students and can only take

18...We do give preference to brothers and sisters...Beyond that we try to balance the class so that we don't have all girls, all boys...Basically we take students who score highest on the test. And we get some very strong students...First grade is the same thing. We have them come in groups of about seven or eight and we have teachers who administer the test and occasionally I test them individually. I could probably tell you after the first few questions whether the child will do well or not here...The Stanford Achievement Test...we give to our own students every spring. And we find that...this child must be somewhat above grade level in both reading and math to be able to be successful in our school. In our testing that we give to our regular students our median scores run about two to three years above grade level...So it (i.e., admissions) is a fairly detailed process. We begin in February and we have testing on Saturday mornings, and while they are being tested, the headmaster and I will interview the parents and this goes on for a long period of time...

The parent and child interviews are very purposeful. The principal reports that "I tend to explain to the parents what we have to offer." In addition, specific information is sought from parents and children:...For the very young children...you find out what they are like, what they have in mind and what their reasons are for wanting to send their children to us. And the main criteria is that they have got to be able to afford it...our tuition is a graduated tuition...if you can't afford it in the beginning it is going to be more difficult later on. Then you want to know what kind of people they are.

what kind of parents they are going to be. Are they going to be supportive of the school...(about) the child...And beyond fourth grade we want to know how the child feels about the change. To me that is critical. To uproot a child from a school and to put him in another school. That child has to have some interest in what is going to happen to him...we invite the children and the parents to come and spend the day with us...it gives them a chance to find out, usually if they are going into the fourth grade, they have got to spend the day with the third graders (i.e., who will be fourth graders when the prospective new student arrives)...You learn a great deal about the children and the parents...what their expectations are...

When asked whether she had any specific expectations for minority or black children, the principal replied: "No, because I expect them to be just like everybody else...I don't believe in making any exceptions for anybody. We have many minorities. And we have children who come from families where English is almost never spoken and they manage...They (i.e., minorities and blacks) are treated just like everybody else and they do very well..."

The inclusion of substantial numbers of black students in Oak Lawn, however, is a result of deliberate administrative policy set forth in the late sixties: "in the fall of 1967... I think we had one student in high school...what we...decided was that in the first year we would admit them at the kindergarten and first grade levels...and then it would be a progressive thing so black students were admitted at the lowest grades, but we fairly quickly got away from that because there was too much demand to ignore...And so that there was a spurt of black enrollment, but never any great landslide rush...that has been the pattern of the school since and we have concentrated on being as what we describe ourselves, being coeducational, college preparatory day school admitting students from kindergarten through twelfth grade and the focus of the school is college preparatory..." Later, the headmaster added that when he interviewed for the position as headmaster in the late sixties he told the Board: "I fully expect Oak Lawn to become an integrated school. I believe in it and it should be done as soon as possible...I am not a bleeding heart liberal of any kind, but I think it absolutely must be and I think you should know which side of the fence I'm on in that regard." He continued: "In effect, what they (i.e., the Board) did was to affirm the headmaster's role as being completely in charge of admissions decisions...which meant that if I admitted a black student they would not question it..."

The impetus for desegregation came partly by way of associated ties with other metropolitan-wide independent schools, historically perceived as less conservative, who "cast aspersions" at Oak Lawn and subtly threatened to refuse participation in high school athletic contests with it. The headmaster believes that today Oak Lawn is far more successfully integrated than any of these schools because: ...I had observed these other schools myself and...for example...we would go up and play an integrated school and...they would have say seven black students in the high school, all seven of them sitting on the bench at a basketball game. The starting five were out on the floor, they were all black and there were seven white kids sitting on the bench and they became the show pieces of the school...and I just felt that what integration meant to me was something other than bringing in a few very talented black students and showcasing them around...I also heard of the problem of the social integration and polerization at some of these schools and decided from the start that that was the very kind of thing I wanted to avoid and that if we were going to bring in a mixed student body, racially and otherwise, we should ignore the fact that they were black or white or whatever...so that we made no exceptions in terms of testing for black students. We didn't go out and look for athletes...for artists. We had applicants. ...When they came into the school, they were expected to be just like every other child in the school...Instead of stressing where the differences are, the black and white difference, for example, I think that we have tried to stress the commonalities and so that our black and white families both share a feeling about the importance of education, about the need for a college preparatory education. They tend to come from the same kinds of socioeconomic levels...They (parents) are doctors and lawyers and dentists, school teachers and small business men, bankers, and so on, and they are interested in the same kinds of things, the sports, drama, and what not...our emphasis is more upon what they all have in common, ways that they are alike as opposed to the fact that they are black or white...

The long-range aspirations for college preparation and attendance, therefore, are the same for all students, including black students. Oak Lawn is particularly proud of the fact that, upon high school graduation, over 98% of its students go on to college. The mutually-agreed-upon educational goals are shared by all constituents of Oak Lawn's school community and are very important unifying forces. The assumption is that a good education prepares one for constructive social citizenship. Independence, responsible behavior, honesty, self-confidence, and a disciplined capacity for hard work are among those personal traits most often mentioned by faculty and parents as expected byproducts of a high quality academic education. There is every expectation that these black students will succeed in college and in life. The principal, for example, comments when asked about whether she believed the children will have any special problems in school (here and later on) because they are black American: "...Ours I think not. Ours I think have it made. The black child in this school who is a strong student has many more advantages than the white child does by the time they have to go to college and that sort of thing...they have strong academic achievement and they have been taught extremely well and they are able (i.e., to go to college), because they do get some kind of preferential treatment. We see a lot of this where a black student has scores which are not as good as, say, a white child, but that child has many more choices than the white child...(Socially?) I don't think they would have any problems. These are what I would call the cream of the crop and the ones that I know that come back here are just like everybody else, they had college experiences which are great..." Every faculty member interviewed shared similar educational aspirations for all students, black or otherwise.

However, faculty and parent leaders interviewed did not share the principal's optimism. Of ten such persons, only two felt that Oak Lawn's black children would have no special problems in the future just because they are black. Others gave answers ranging from "yes," "yes, a few," to "don't know" (1 person) or "it depends" (4 persons). Factors associated with the last category included the school the child entered in the future and the child's own attitudes about being black, in this instance, whether or not it was overly defensive. Black children's community and home learning environments, therefore, are important insofar as they facilitate or hamper Oak Lawn's identified educational goals.

Oak Lawn does not expect to be a passive reactant to children's home environments. Experience has taught that the school will be an active initiator in influencing family-school relations. According to the headmaster, "We have students transferring into the school at every grade level. It's always an interesting thing after six or eight or ten weeks to talk with the (parents of) the students newly enrolled because...one of the things we often hear is that for the first time in his life my child is talking about what happened in school whereas it used to be, 'What did you do today in school?' 'Nothing.' 'What happened?' 'Nothing.' Now that becomes the dominating theme of the dinner table...and the kids are doing a couple of hours of homework a night. The school, I think, has a very strong impact on the home life. It keeps the kids at home at night if nothing else and the parents are more involved with what's going on in the day-to-day operation of the school than what you would find in an average public school..." In his view, these observations pertain to all parents, black or otherwise.

Oak Lawn reserves the right to raise issues of the home environment that could interfere with learning in school. The headmaster comments: "...But if we see or sense that maybe cultural or racial or ethnic values can come into conflict with something in the school that's normal practice then we will ask about it..." In discussing the home environment in relation to the black child's academic performance, he continues: "...I would want to be very cautious in making any kind of distinction (i.e., between black and other children)...a few things...it's a little more unusual perhaps for a black child living in a black community to leave his community and go to a private, largely white, expensive school, so that I think that...the family has a very special situation that they're going to have to be aware of. We have black kids that tell us that they don't wear their Oak Lawn jacket except at school because no way are they going to get on the bus (i.e., to travel in/through the black community) wearing an Oak Lawn jacket..." Later he commented when discussing whether or not

Oak Lawn is a "neighborhood school," and the effect of the current residential patterns of students' families on the social experiences of the children in the school: "If there is any single thing that mitigates against a close integration of the school it is...that a lot of our black students live a distance from the school and then tend to have their social life that centers around their former friends, professors at former schools, or their church, YMCA or whatever organization in the community they happen to operate around...if everybody lived close, it would be a much more socially integrated situation..." Interviewed faculty made similar comments about the social life of students generally, particularly as related to school spirit after eighth grade.

The principal has a slightly different, but complementary, picture of the black students' community and home environments. When asked how important the home environment is to a black child's academic performance, she stated: ...I think it is about the same as anyone. The only thing I can think of that probably is different for the black children who live in areas where they come in contact with kids that are much bigger than the ones here at school and they have a problem maintaining a balance between the way in which they act and react in the neighborhoods and act and react here...some children can handle it better than others. Other than that...the black children tend to be more aggressive in their day to day operational life. They do more punching, more pushing. They get angrier more often and express themselves physically more than most of the children. That sometimes is a problem, but we get lots of cooperation from the parents and they accept this as a reality...the older the child is when he comes into this school, the more he has developed this kind of behavior pattern and it takes him a while to realize we don't allow any kind of fighting. It is just an absolute No...

In summary, adminstrators speculate that black students at Oak Lawn may have trouble with their black community peers because of the implicit economic advantages of themselves and their families, given the fact of their enrollment in the school. They may also experience cross-racial peer conflicts at Oak Lawn. Black students' contribution to the conflicts could be related to behavioral styles learned by association with the black community. Aspects of these views are shared by many faculty. For example, one teacher commented: "Blacks at Oak Lawn are not deprived students...The problem is their neighborhoods, not the school...They are outsiders in their own neighborhood..." Another teacher pointed out that the black students vary in their adjustments to Oak Lawn "depending on where we inherited them from." New students have the problem of developing loyalty to their new school; this teacher adjusts behavioral expectations for such students according to what seems reasonable relative to their prior schooling experiences. Still another teacher felt black students at Oak Lawn are presently in a school environment in which teachers convey that there are no racial differences, but during a time in which American society says there are. Further, this teacher felt black students could feel left out during special ethnic dinners and fairs because in such situations they may have little to share.

Administrators, faculty, and parent leaders agree that black families have the primary responsibility for teaching black children so as to foster racial pride and identification. Some faculty feel that Oak Lawn could play a larger role than it does now, but others do not agree. Cross-racial or cross-ethnic conflicts are not directly perceived to be associated with racial and ethnic stereotypes students from the diverse homes may bring to Oak Lawn about one group or another. The problems associated with cross-racial or cross-ethnic stereotyping are tackled by stressing the communalities between children and their families. Nonetheless, though some interviewees see Oak Lawn as more truly integrated than others, all are proud of the considerable racial and ethnic diversity present in the current student population.

## Summary

Just prior to this study, Oak Lawn had passed its 110th anniversary. Documents and interviews suggest that throughout its history Oak Lawn has enjoyed the respect of the surrounding metropolitan community. Oak Lawn administrators and faculty believe it receives respect because it delivers quality education to its students. Its longest earlier tradition was as an elite, all-male military boarding school. During many of those years, the surrounding neighborhood was white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Today, the surrounding neighborhood is predominantly Irish Catholic or black. Today, the school is an elite, coeducational, multi-ethnic, multi-racial day school. Over one-third of its students are bussed into the school each day, some from long distances. Other students must come by private or public transportation.

What has endured over the years, and been strengthened most recently by careful attention to explicit identification, written and oral communication about its educational goals, is the school's commitment to academic excellence within a traditional, college preparatory learning environment, beginning as early as kindergarten, and continuing through grade 12. To achieve this educational mission, Oak Lawn engages in careful selection of teachers and students. Within this elite academic setting, Oak Lawn attempts to manage racial and ethnic diversity by maximizing socioeconomic communalities between the diverse families, and by stressing the values and beliefs that are similar for all children and families. It is generally perceived that but for the fact that children and families are influenced by the particular neighborhoods in which they live, and the racial and ethnic communities of which they are members, this strategy would be 100 percent successful. Therefore, Oak Lawn depends upon its capacity to influence the families of its children, and the enduring support and consensus of these families about its primarily academic mission to maintain its sense of community.

## Roman

Roman, nearly 100 years old, remains one of two neighborhood independent private schools for families living in brownstones, older mansions, condominiums, and high rise apartments, bordering on one of Chicago's most beautiful parks to the North, Lake Michigan to the east, exclusive shopping on the south, and a renovative living and shopping area to the west. For the most part, Roman has had little competition for students. The school enrolls over 910 boys and girls from junior kindergarten through grade twelve. The educational program following in its traditional past is college preparatory. The school campus includes three buildings. The preschool (junior kindergarten) and elementary school (kindergarten through fifth) are housed in a fifty-five year old facility, one block away from the ten year old "high-rise facility" for the middle school (grades sixth through eighth) and high school (grades nine through twelve).

The preschool and elementary school building, first occupied by the school in 1926, architecturally matches the brownstones gracing both sides of the street. As one walks up the stone steps into a small foyer, one feels as if one is entering a large mansion, rather than a private school building. However, once inside, colorful pictures outside classroom doors, quickly indicate to the observer that he or she is in a school. In addition to classrooms, the elementary school building houses administrative offices, faculty work room, art studio, library, gymnasiums and locker rooms, and kitchen and dining room facilities. Attached to the elementary school building is the annex, acquired by the school in 1969. The annex provides a conference room, reception facilities and offices for the parents' organization and business manager and his staff.

The high-rise facility, in contrast to the other two facilities is light and airy. It more closely resembles an apartment building, than a school house. Perhaps one reason why neither building evokes images of a school building is because there is no playground. For certain sports and recreational activities the students in both buildings use the nearby extensive facilities and grounds of a city park. The small classsrooms, fully carpeted, with wide windows, and exposed brick walls also helps to create an apartment feeling. The openness of general reception facilities and auditorium, functional gyms and locker rooms for both boys and girls, swimming pool, laboratories, studios for art and music, faculty offices, and kitchen and dining room facilities all have the same design quality of an urban multi-dwelling home rather than a traditional school building.

### School history

Nearly 100 years ago, in a victorian living room located in Chicago's most exclusive neighborhood area, a group of parents who wanted a good education for their boys, founded the Roman School. A woman, brought in from the East, in 1888 was the first headmaster. Her task was to educate a handful of young boys, so that they might go to the most fashionable college preparatory schools of the time, e.g., Hodcus, Choten, Saint Paul, Andover, and Exeter. Soon after boy's Roman was founded, a separate school was also established for girls. These two separate schools existed for over fifty years. There was no corporate nor curriculum connection between the two schools until 1952, when they merged for educational and economic reasons.

Roman's history is intimately related to its present philosophy and organization. Since Roman's earliest beginnings its objective has been to provide academically able students a quality education, which will prepare them to meet the challenge of college. Although throughout its history various headmasters emphasized different aspects of the curriculum and instructional techniques, college preparation has been the core to Roman's philosophy. According to the present headmaster, during the fifties, Roman pretty much offered a standard program. However, a new headmaster in early 1960's, renewed the emphasis on the elite eastern preparatory style of education. All students, at this time, were expected to carry five majors, and everyone took standardized tests. This academic emphasis extended from the lower school through the high school. This period in Roman's history is often looked upon as Roman's most traditional years.

The 1970's ushered in new changes. The school became more affectively oriented. The pendulum, moved the other way again in the late 70's back to a more traditional program. Today, the school continues in this more traditional focus. According to the current headmaster," ....well, I think there is more emphasis on high level courses now. I mean ability grouping begins in the middle school--that tells a lot. That tells you that, on one hand it is a useful way to meet individual needs. On the other hand, it also creates an educational aristocracy, which eventuates into a middle class and an upper class education which is appropriate for the needs of the children." These ability groupings, begin in sixth grade for math and foreign language. Children are placed in these groupings on the bases of demonstrated ability, not I.Q. scores.

Academic preparation is the tradition of Roman school. When the headmaster was asked to identify the traditions and rituals the school maintained from its historical past, he commented, "The traditions are intellectual instead of social. We have our various rites of passage, the graduation exercises, yes we have the school song and those kinds of things. But primarily the traditions that you see carried on here, are intellectual rather than social."

When the teachers were asked about the history and traditions of Roman school their responses were similar to the headmaster. As for history the majority knew it had once been two separate schools and would be celebrating its' hundredth birthday soon. As for tradition, the majority responded that the tradition of Roman is, "....a classical education,"

"...college preparatory", "...high academic standards."

The current headmaster received a private education, held two other positions as headmaster at private schools and sent his children at various times, to private elementary and secondary schools. He had been in this position for less than three years at the time of the interview. Upon learning of the planned study, he requested that Roman be included, thought it has fewer than 10% black students.

When asked what made him interested in becoming an administrator in a private school, he comments: "I never would have been an administrator in a private school if everything had stayed the way it was in public education. But to be perfectly frank, collective bargaining above everything else drove me out of public education.... (one of the) great public school systems in the country. They had ability grouping... very advanced but it all went smash over wages, hours, and working conditions and I left public education...

...work rules, right there, bang! You couldn't stay after twenty after three. The teachers came first and the kids started to come last and that was the end of that for me and that was the reverse of the way I see it should be happening..." Commenting on a school he left, he states "...its quality has gone down. It was a staff-run school. The staff hire, the staff fire...a nightmare to administrators...This school is more traditionally organized administratively, no tenure, one year contracts which is standard in independent education in most places. Pretty well educated faculty..."

Today there are 103 faculty members at Roman school, which provides a student faculty ratio of about nine to one. Over fifty of the faculty serve grades 6-12, approximately 35 serve junior kindergarten through fifth. Few faculty members work between the two buildings. While the male and female balance for the entire school is nearly even, females tend to dominate the junior kindergarten through fifth grade. The majority of the teachers have been with the school for longer than five years. There are no new teachers in grades fifth through eighth. The overwhelming majority of teachers in these grades are seasoned veteran teachers, several of them having worked in public schools prior to joining the Romam faculty.

Grades fourth through twelfth are organized into department units. A department structure is typical in high schools or junior high. Rarely does it extend to the fourth grade. Under such an arrangement, the students exchange classes for academic subjects as well as art, music, and gym. As a result of this configuration, in grades four and five there are three homeroom teachers, one who is responsible for math, one for English and reading, and one for social studies. There also are science, French, art, music, physical education, and library teachers per grade. Each of these teachers have responsibility for providing instruction to all the students in a particular grade, in their area of expertise.

In grades six through twelve, there are seven departments: English, mathematics, history-social science, science, foreign language, fine arts and physical education. Each teacher is assigned a four class teaching load. Teachers are also expected to act as student advisors and participate in a social values-study skills program as well as assigned extra duties.

Although there are frequent grade level meetings, the teacher receives guidance and direction from their department chairs. Department chairs and division heads are responsible for conducting yearly faculty evaluations. Teachers receive a year to year contract. If a teacher receives a poor evaluation and is notified that his or her contract will not be renewed, there is a faculty elected board which he or she can appeal to. However, this board is advisory to the Headmaster, division head and department chair. There is no faculty union or association.

The administrative structure of Roman is fairly extensive. In addition to the headmaster, there are three division heads, one for the high schol, one for middle school, and one for the lower and primary school. There also is a director of college counseling, guidance counselor, director of admissions and development, alumni director, business manager, and superintendent of buildings and grounds. All administrators are evaluated individually by the headmaster.

The headmaster prepares a written evaluation and discusses it with each individual. Evaluation of the headmaster is conducted by the Board of Trustees. All of the administrators, with the exception of the business manager and superintendent of building and grounds, serve on the academic council. The academic council is the major decision making body in the school regarding curriculum and school matters.

The board of trustees is the governing body of the school, it is composed of twenty-one members, the President of the Parents Council, President of the Alumni Association and the headmaster. The board meets ten times during the year. Members are elected by the parents and serve three year terms.

The parents group in the school, is entitled the Parents Council, was founded in 1953. The purpose of the Parents Council is to "promote mutual understanding and cooperation by offering the opportunity for parents, faculty, students, administrators and trustees to exchange ideas and to work together to serve the best interests of the school" (Roman Middle and Upper School Handbook for Students, Faculty and Parents, 1982-83). The Parents Council has responsibility for the operation of several major fund raising activities in the school including, the thrift shop, carnival, and adult education series.

### Educational goals

The headmaster's perception of Roman school is reflective in the goals he has for the students in the school and the teachers. These goals are also realized in daily activities of the students, teachers, admissions personnel, board of trustees, parents as well as in his own activities.

The majority of parents at Roman school were categorized as having the traditional response pattern (see chapter 8). This view of education is also shared by the headmaster. Responses of the headmaster at Roman school, to several of the same questions asked the parents regarding his educational goals, exemplify the traditional response pattern. The headmaster at Roman, firmly maintains that the purpose and function of Roman school is to provide a high quality preparatory learning environment. The school formalizes this emphasis as early as fourth grade through its' departmental organization. Students are expected to work very hard, compete successfully and excel in their endeavors. The school, from the headmaster's perspective is charged with structuring a rigorous learning environment where this can occur. The headmaster believes that the primary responsibility of the school is to provide a strong foundation in the basic skills, while also preparing the child, through an extended curriculum to assume a leadership position in society.

When the headmaster was asked, "what do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in your school?", his reply began with basic skills: "...basic skills begins it. You have to have them. You have to have them mastered and I think we do a remarkable job on that. I think that the rest of the curriculum does what I think a curriculum really ought to do which is to acquaint kids with what there is to learn, because you don't learn it all in high school or middle school. A good balance between skills and an opening out and a respect for knowledge. The creation in children of the suspicion that you can lead that thing called the life of the mind. I really do believe that they need to grow up to be informed citizens. I don't think we do as good a job as we ought to in acquainting them with what their responsibilities are to the world they're going out in, after all these are not ordinary kids, these are the children of the priviledged and they owe. That's a hard lesson to teach."

Responses of the teachers to the same question, displayed elements of the humanistic response pattern as well as the traditional one, (see chapter 8). One teacher said, "... a stimulating environment, so that they will want to learn after they leave the classroom, give them tools to learn, so they can get meaning out of life." From another teacher, "A program shaped to their needs, i.e., structure, involvement with each other and me, to care about others, a positive atmosphere, between parents and teachers, materials." And from another, "atmosphere in the classroom so that the child wants to be there, to be cared about as a person, not criticized as a person. At this level a great deal of structure and yet freedom. You need to teach with an iron hand and a velvet glove...content, orderly presentation."

When asked how this view of education was reflected in the school, the headmaster commented," very rigorous, very traditional. A lot of testing and close monitoring of the kids." Teachers tended to comment on the availability of materials, support of the parents and administration and school size. One teacher comments, "There is a tight structure, explicit goals so that you know what is expected of you. It is small enough to ensure involvement, it has a sense of community so that everyone can find someone to relate to."

Parents who gave the traditional response pattern placed considerable emphasis on training the child to be an effective competitor. Roman school provides this type of environment. When the headmaster was asked to comment about the learning environment at Roman, he commented: "I think that there are various ways to characterize the competitive environment which clearly exists at this place. First of all, there are parental expectations, they are sky high. Getting into Roman is difficult because there are fewer places than there are applicants, so right away it becomes something sought after. Once achieved, then the pressure that originates in the home is internalized by the children and certainly we don't discourage competition, not cut-throat competition, but we say it important to learn this material, that's why we are teaching it to you and that to some extent you can say that the school is fostering pressure by that."

Basically, the headmaster believes two types of support should come from the parents. The first, is to provide a supportive home environment that facilitates the child's learning at school and second, to actively participate in school activities such as school festivals and fundraising events. With respect to the first type of support, the school takes a very strong role in educating the parents about those apparently non-school related factors which they believe influence the students' academic performance. The school sees its' responsibility to try to negotiate with parents strategies for raising their children which makes it possible for the child to be more successful at school. The degree to which the school is willing to accomplish this, is quite extensive. The headmaster explained that he has frequently gone to a parent's home, to negotiate her role with her child, so that the child might be a happier and more productive person and effective student. Many of these type of meetings take place at school or over the telephone. Both teachers and headmaster report that the teachers are often on the phone with parents at night. According to the headmaster, that while the conversation is about an academic subject such as algebra, the teacher is "... also talking about assuring the parents that they have to provide certain kinds of limits, you can't leave the telephone in the kid's room all night. No, it really doesn't help to have the TV on. No he shouldn't go to the movies two nights a week. School nights he should be home..." The headmaster believes that, unfortunately, there is a growing number of parents not just at Roman school who need direction in these areas.

Teacher responses to the question about the difference between the teacher's job and the parents' job in helping children to learn were similar to those of the headmaster. They saw themselves as having the responsibility for classroom learning, parents having the responsibility for creating the right attitudes toward learning, for example, "My role is giving information, the parents' role is guidance and support." All of the teachers commented that the child's home environment was very important to the child's academic performance and social behavior with peers. The teachers also perceived of the goals of the school as strongly competitive, with a push for college preparation. The emphasis on college preparation and good grades is problematic for some of the teachers who feel that more attention needs to be paid to the development of the whole child.

From the perspective of the headmaster the role of the parents in the school is basically to support the mission of Roman school. The role of the school is to help the children succeed. To accomplish this, the school needs the parents' support. In responsing to the question "what do you see as the difference between teachers' job and the parents' job in helping children to learn?", the headmaster at Roman replied, "the teachers are the professionals, the parents in an ideal situation are the responsible critics but only secondarily, primarily they are the supporters and the expeditors of what we are trying to do with the children in school." The headmaster frequently mentioned the importance of having competent knowledgeable teachers on his staff. For example, the headmaster commented that the most important thing that he does is the hiring of teachers. He pursues this very aggressively, by visiting other schools, watching teachers instruct, spending a day on their campus, and talking to their colleagues and students.

In addition to providing a supportive home environment for learning, all parents are expected to be aware of school events and participate in them. The school survives on the volunteer efforts of the families. All of the activities parents are involved with are coordinated through the board of trustees. The board of trustees has several committees including, a finance, educational policy, long range planning committee. The board centralizes all of the volunteer efforts in the school.

The Parent Council, whose president sits on the board of trustees, has responsibility for organizing and implementing various volunteer activities. Other than just planning and managing fundraising events, the Parent's Council has on occasion conferrred with the headmaster regarding a particular educational issue that needs to be brought to the attention of the school. For example, there was a reemergence of drug and alcohol use openly among the students. The Parent's Council and the headmaster began meeting to design a curriculum that would help parents identify what are appropriate parental responses to these type of situations and how they might want to clarify their own values and positions at home.

Another type of non fundraising activity that the

Parents' Council assists in are the Monday and Wednesday night meetings. Once a week, the headmaster meets in his own home, with a group of parents representing different grades to discuss questions and suggestions they want brought to the attention of the administration. Typically, the Parent's Council operates many fundraising activities in the school. These events are mainly social activities such as a bazaar, carnival, or dinner dance. Teachers are invited to attend, however they are primarily planned as parent activities to raise funds for the school.

At Roman school parents and teachers rarely interact informally perhaps primarily because, from the headmaster's perspective, the teachers come from a different social and economic class background than many of the parents. The headmaster comments when asked about informal opportunities for parents and teachers to know each other as persons: "Very few. The teachers come from a very different socio-economic class than the parents. That informal stuff I would say is marginal. There are a lot of teachers who have wonderful relationship with families, go to dinner over at their houses and stuff like that but that certainly doesn't characterize the whole of the pot... my perception. I've heard - much more so here than in any other school I've been - the teachers - and this is by no means the universal perception, but to me, a distressingly large number of cases parents are abusive with teachers; do not treat them with respect... We all have a few horror stories but whether or not the faculty as a group of professionals is respected and admired for the quality of what they do. No, I think clearly in this community if teachers were making a couple of hundred thousand dollars a year they would be much more respected. But anybody who's making $18,000 to $30,000 a year can't be really very good or they would be doing something else... (No intrinsic value on the part of the parents in terms of what the teachers are committing themselves to do?) A large hunk of the parents...certainly they do respect the teachers but there is a good solid chunk in there - a quarter, a third..."

What the parents, teachers and headmaster do share is what the role of the teacher should be in the educative process. They also agree on the content of the curriculum and what the life of the student should be in the school.

Roman's philosophy of providing " a rigorous traditional education in a warm humane environment" is reflected in the curriculum. At all grade levels, subject areas, e.g., English, mathematics, social studies, science, foreign language, the curriculum is conservative and specifically designed to meet the learning needs of the academically able student.

The English department for grades 5 through 8 is rigorously structured to provide a quality education of academic competence, social skills and character. Academic competence is achieved through a concentration on classical and traditional literature. Students are exposed to novels, short stories, plays, and mythology early in middle school.

oral and written skills are stressed in an extensive, developmental skills-building program. Social skills and character development is experienced intellectually through the literature and studied in special values classes. A recent external visiting evaluation team remarked that the "amazing level of grammar attained at fourth grade and continued through eighth, is one of which the department should be justly proud." The team also commented on the expectation, and delivery of disciplined study skills, frequent opportunities for work in rhetoric, usage of precise literary terminology by teachers and students, and the ambitious classical literary program.

The mathematics curriculum is a traditional solid college preparatory program. Beginning in grade six there are three ability tracks which allow the most capable student to participate in an advanced program geared to eventuate in an advanced placement course in high school, an average track that in most schools would be considered advanced, and a track for the less capable student which provides for the reinforcement of basic skills and preparation for college mathematics. Computer facilities are available beginning in the fifth grade. Work on the computers is well integrated into the mathematics program. During free periods, students are encouraged to use the mathematics lab, where teachers are available to discuss any problems the student may be encountering. The math lab also contains enrichment materials for students who want to pursue a skill in greater depth. The math lab is decorated with trophies and awards won by Roman students in middle school and high school mathematics competitions.

The social studies program is a developmental program designed to promote basic social science skills. In fifth grade, the students begin a structured, chronological approach of western civilization. Although in past years the program has focussed on world geography. Sixth grade is primarily a continuation of fifth grade. Seventh grade is more project oriented, and includes study of eastern and third world countries. Reading material at this grade level consist of soft-cover books. Students investigate several cultures throughout the world that are at different stages of development. In the second semester of seventh grade the students are engaged in an in-depth investigation of specific Chicago ethnic neighborhoods. This unit includes mapping, oral history recording, field trips and photography. Eight grade focusses on a chronological and topical survey of American studies. The seventh and eighth grade social studies program has a humanistic bias, which seems to add depth and scope to the curriculum.

The science program is very traditional. The science teachers are very well qualified; several hold Ph.D. degrees and the majority have master degrees in a related science discipline. Course offerings include instruction in biology, chemistry and physics. These topics are consistent across all the middle school grades. Students beginning in the middle school learn how to use the science laboratory. The use of the science laboratory is an integral part of the science program and students are expected to learn by inquiry. Many of the science units are developed by the teachers themselves.

Beginning in grade four, Roman students start a foreign language. French is the language taught in grades four and five. Students can elect to take Spanish rather than French in grade six. There are language labs for the six, seven, and eighth grade students where they have special auditory and recording equipment to facilitate student learning.

In the past, Roman did not consider the fine arts program as a top priority. However, within the past eight to ten years there has been a new emphasis on the arts, including drawing sculpture, music and dance. The arts are important to the current headmaster: "...I wanted to restructure the art program and by gum we did it. Just bang... I think art is as important as mathematic, maybe more so. I wanted to do, in the studio classes, I wanted us to do left brain, right brain with the drawings. We do it. I wanted a dance theater, we have them. I wanted ceremics, we got it. A full chorus, instrumental performances, the whole thing, so we put together a - by getting together a group of people in the arts department who are like minded and work together and whose curriculum was really synergistic and meshed, we turned, we have an amazing art department...There were dramatic changes in personnel. Everything was a one semester course in the arts now they are all year long. Art was blowoff here, it's taken seriously now, it's treated with respect by the kids..."

Physical education is required for all students. The indoor and outdoor facilities, gym, park and swimming pool are used by all middle school students.

Unquestionably, the curriculum of Roman school exemplifies a decidedly rigorous college preparatory program. More than half of the student handbook is devoted to information on academic affairs such as academic requirements, explanation of grades, academic probation, requirements for making up an incomplete or failing grade, marking periods and test schedules, honor role requirements, progress reports and notes of commendation and cheating and plagiarism.

One part of the curriculum that the headmaster believes is missing is a service requirement. He is intent on making the students more aware of the world that they live in: "I want the kids to know about the world, know about contemporary political issues. Be informed. Work in the community. Give something back to Chicago. We have no service requirement, but we will starting in September. We are so isolated from Chicago... The richest people in the midwest live in this neighborhood....No kid from the public housing project which is three blocks away, ever attended this school....There weren't any Jewish kids here until 1950 and no blacks until 1966."

When asked what values and traditions of the school that he tries to reinforce in the school, the headmaster comments: ..."Civility, integrity. The things that I see that we spend a lot of time addressing here is - these children don't treat each other very nicely. They don't treat the adults very nicely either. About forty-five percent of our kids are not living with their biological fathers and mothers. Some of them are latchkey kids. A lot of them get extraordinary allowances which they don't spend in nice ways. Many of them have servants and its interesting to hear the kids here don't use the word cleaning lady or help, they use the words 'maid' or 'servant'. Know what I'm driving at, you know that there's a class of people who work for you and hence our halls are littered because the janitors are here to clean up the mess the way the maid's there to clean up the mess. There's a fair amount of cheating here. You can lay that off on the competitive nature of the environment, to some extent that's true, but cheating is not considered by the students here a morally bad thing. If you get caught you get punished but cheating is not something you have much guilt or remorse over. That's the problem, you get bright amoral kids and you've got a hell of a mess on your hands because they're so capable..." From his perspective, the school has to play an important role in the social development of its children: "It's a role that this school plays with some reluctance but it is getting more and more attuned to the necessity to do it and even the desirability of doing it. We have right from first grade through eleventh grade an explicit values curriculum, which students are required to take. These value classes fills the void in the lives of a lot of these children."

Teachers are involved through their departments in making changes in the curriculum. Department units determine course content, textbooks, course objectives including skills and abilities, type of assignments, methodology (discussion, lecture, activities, field trips, etc..,) and prerequisites. Every year the various department faculty review the content and developmental sequence of the curriculum. At the classroom level, teachers can make changes in certain books and have the authority to decide how much time to spend on certain concepts.

When asked specifically about what changes they would like to make in the curriculum, one social studies teacher commented, "When the social studies department determined that the learning was not successful we revised the curriculum. In general, we tried to implement more non-western information in our courses. We did this over the year, and all of us were very active in the process." As the headmaster comments in relation to teacher decisions about curriculum: "Department agree on titles. But taking something like Civil disobedience was another schools way of life. Here we read Civil disobedience as a historical phenomenon, not as something that kids ought to be practicing today. That's a mistake. This school...is very conservative..."

Relationships between the home environment and the academic performance of black and other minority students, from the headmaster's perspective is one of expectation. "In those minority families where there are high expectations for the children, we get a pretty high result... I'm not talking about A's and B's. The kids are in the school, they're involved in it, they care about. The home supports that...What I see mostly of the minority families is that they're highly supportive of the kid in the school and minority kids are quite successful."

Teachers also perceived the home environment as being very important to minority child's academic performance. However they were divided as to whether it was more important to a black student or nonblack student. While some indicated that "There's no difference," another replied, "Even more important because black students encounter an extra set of problems."

When asked how important is the child's home environment to his or her academic performance in the classroom?, the headmaster answered "Obviously we think the home environment is really crucial. Moreso for the kind of person a child becomes, than the kind of student that a child can become. We can pretty well deal with the student dimension, provided the child is relatively whole." As for parent contacts with each other outside of school, the headmaster confirmed that many of the parents were social friends. These friendships had some effect on the child's peer group interactions. When querried how important the home environment is in regard to a child's social behavior particularly with respect to peer group interactions? he responded, "Well I think it has a pretty substantial effect. A lot of the parents see each other socially. That determines some of the outside school peer interaction groups which we see manifesting themselves inside the school. But a lot of the peer relationships in the school have no discernable connection with the out of school relationships between the parents. Often times the parents of school friends do not know each other.."

When asked to describe any special features a black family should include in its overall educational program because its child is a black American, the headmaster places the responsibility on the family for developing a black identity: "The kids that have a good self image about being black are not getting it here. They're getting it from the attitude that their parents have about being black and if it is a positive attitude, which it is in most cases with these kids, it is a good thing."

The position of the Roman school with respect to doing something to support the black child's black identity was to do nothing. As the headmaster comments, "We just pretend that everybody is the same color." Several of the teachers responses were similar to the headmaster. One teacher commenting on what special features a black family should include in its' overall educational program stated, "No, a child is a child, a person is a person, we need to do the same thing for all of us." And from another, "there doesn't have to be any special features just because he or she is black--it's not like being blind."

Although the school espouses a color blinded position, in actuality, there are some social problems for the black students which start in the middle school. When asked if any minority students in the school have any special problems because they are minority students?, the headmaster answered, "There is no difficulty about being a black student. However, as a friend, that is more difficult because a lot of the black students don't live around here. Black and white dating is very low. However, there is some. That's okay, but the parents don't like it. Neither the white nor the black parents. I'm not talking about the families of the kids involved. I'm talking about the families of the kids who are watching. A lot of phone conversation about the Roman school over the cocktail circuit."

Several teachers also remarked about the social problems some of the black students have at Roman school. They saw the social life for black students at Roman as limited. As one teacher stated, "Roman can be a white person's school. White, upper class. If you're not that, one can be an outsider." Unlike the headmaster, several of the teachers believe that they should have a role in developing a positive racial identity for their students. Three teachers went so far as to suggest that the curriculum should be changed, as one teacher commented, "The curriculum should highlight the existence of blacks and whites. If blacks don't read about blacks they forget who they are." One teacher stated that the school should be aware and appreciate and respect a black identity but did not suggest any specific things that should be done to accomplish this. Then there were three teachers who emphatically supported the headmasters' position. They believed establishing a black identity was a family matter. For example, as one teacher replied, "Identity comes from the home. In school we look at students as individuals who are all equal. Ethnic or racial origins don't play a role in class."

When asked if black students will have any problems later in school because they're black, the headmaster's response indicated several important factors. The problems that black students will have were restricted to school entrance. Moreover, the major problem from his perspective, was that they were not willing to select colleges that were similarly competitive in prestige and academic reputation as their precollege experience. In response to this question the headmaster stated, "Some will, some won't. It's a fact it's easier to place a black child with lower scores in a lower academic curriculum in a competitive school because of affirmative action and we cash in on that too. And I'm all for it. Some of our black kids in my perception aimed low. They chose to leave an environment and enter another one that was nowhere nearly the same...The stakes intellectually aren't as high. These kids have demonstrated that they can play ball in that league and they decided not to."

Roman acknowledges that it is an ethnically and racially diverse school and prides itself on this fact. When asked what effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education? the headmaster responded,"...I think it has a substantial effect. In the process of doing with other children, all kinds of awarenesses and appreciations are created, as well as insights. Stereotypes break down real early."

Roman is a neighborhood school. Eighty-one percent of the students live in the four surrounding zip code areas. There are a few families which live outside these areas and some students will travel as much as two hours to come to Roman school. Many of the black students live outside the zip code areas. As discussed earlier this presents some problems in maintaining friendships for the students. It also presents some problems for the parents becaause they are out of the social circle which is very much a part of school life for the parents of Roman school. However, the school does try to create a sense of community for the students and their parents in the school through it various social activities. A sense of community is also developed around the values and goals the parents both black and nonblack share about the role of the home and school in helping children to learn, and the long range goals and expectations they have for their children.

From the school's perspective, at least as viewed by the headmaster and several teachers, Roman is a good learning environment for all kinds of children. Even the academically less able students, seem to have a good time at Roman. The school is very clear and determined about what its' educational program is designed to accomplish. A high percentage of the students and families are buying into the philosophy of the school. According to the headmaster, the students receive a lot of rewards from this purchase. The students feel that they are part of something that is bigger than themselves. When asked if there is such a thing as a Roman shirt, and whether the kids would wear it in the city?, the headmaster commented, "Mostly our kids wear shirts with alligators or polo players on them. I'm always surprised however at the number of varsity jackets we sell at outrageous prices. At some schools only the jocks buy them. But here all kinds of kids buy and wear them."

Roman's long range aims for it's students are reflective of the types of student they seek to admit and what they hope to accomplish with each child. The long range goal of Roman school is to place students in colleges that "are correct for them and not just on the ivy league placements." While this statement is very broad, its intent is much more restricted. When asked do you have any special expectations for students that are new to the school?, the headmaster responded, "...New kids have primarily been coming in at two places; sixth and ninth grade. They are more academically able as a group than the classes that they join which has an interesting impact on the kid who was in the middle of his class and finds himself in the bottom of his class the next year by virtue of the hot shots who were brought in on top. Lately, we have been spending more time on building a class of students rather than trying to get the best and the brightest. Now we ask more of what a child can bring here, not just what he or she can do but what he or she can add to the mix of students here. Right now that mix of students is pretty plain."

However, all students regardless of their diverse racial or ethnic backgrounds that apply to Roman school have to be academically able and have been successful in the school that they were at. The school is only interested in students who have a successful track record in school. Talented students who may have had problems at other schools and come to Roman to get straightened out are not admitted. This policy applies to all students, black and nonblack.

Roman seeks the academically able and works to enrich and expand their talents. The headmaster believes that the Roman has the responsibility to educate the whole child. He also believes that Roman also has a responsibility to educate its' students to be good citizens. He perceives the value systems of many of the black parents are more conservative and traditional than many of the nonblack parents. Black parents value the established ethic of working hard, being disciplined, and doing good for those less fortunate.

According to the headmaster, they too see the school as having an important role in the child social, as well as academic, development. However, this view is not shared by all parents, particularly the nonblack parents: "...there is a conflict in values, there are people who feel that this place is here to give my kid an education, his moral development is my concern, how he behaves in school should be considered in academic and not social terms...but that's not what you call educating the whole child, which we very much attempt to do here and I think there is an increasing awareness now that for the balance of this decade that's going to take equal importance with reading, writing, and arithmetic, and figuring out when Columbus came to America..."

### Achieving goals

The first step toward achieving the goals of the school's occurs with the admission process. The school approaches this process with a clear idea of what academic skills, talents and home support a student needs to be successful in this environment. For the parents, the admission process presents an opportunity to learn what the school looks for in the families they hope to admit.

What makes the admissions process work at Roman school, from the headmaster's perspective, is that the personnel who are involved in the process are very aware of the demands and expectations of the school, and the academic and social profiles of the student body. They seek families whose goals and aspirations match those of the school and the students: "The magic of the process is in the people who administer it.

Which is the faculty and the admissions department. The admissions department is the broker of the transaction, a very informed broker. They function primarily to explain the school to the applicants and to gather information about the applicants. Because they have had so much experience, they are so good at it...Our goals is to make a successful match between the applicants and the school."

Admissions at Roman school is an elaborate and complex process. The admissions process begins when a parent makes an inquiry about the school. The school sends a brochure and application form which includes, general information about the child, names of previous schools the applicant attended, and how the family learned about Roman school. This form is returned to the school with a $30.00 application fee. Once a family's initial application is accepted, the school then requires additional information including: letter of recommendation from previous teachers, student essays, the topics of which vary from year to year, student grade transcripts, prior student standardized test scores, and aptitude and ability tests which are administered by the school. (These requirements are different for pre-primary applicants.) When all these materials are submitted, the school makes an initial screening and then invites the parents and student to make a school visit. During the visit, the parents are interviewed and the child is interviewed independently by several teachers.

Admissions procedures for minorities follow these same procedures with one exception. Minority students, regardless of their scores on the Roman administered aptitude and ability tests, may be invited for an interview. In the case of minorities, the school takes the position that standardized tests are culturally biased, and thus the test scores for many minority students are likely to be spurious.

There are no formal criteria which prioritize the qualifications of potential candidates. Admissions decisions are made by the admissions committee, which has the responsibility for examining the applicant pool and making final determinations. According to the admissions director the best predictors of student success in Roman's middle school are writing samples and teacher recommendations, the least helpful are test scores. The admissions director admitted that it was easy to let the test scores dictate admissions, and they are helpful in the screening process but test scores are not necessarily the best indicators of school success at Roman.

Difficult decisions in the admissions process usually concern siblings. The school has a sibling policy which states that if your brother or sister goes to Roman, you can too, provided you're an average student. A sibling does not have to meet the same admissions criteria that a brother or sister did when he or she was competing against everyone in the applicant pool. Problems occur when a sibling has learning problems. Roman does not have the personnel to work with students with learning problems. Either the school doesn't admit the student or after he or she has been at the school for a couple of years he or she is counseled out. Regarding this policy the headmaster commented, "We don't pretend to be able to deliver services that we can't deliver and we don't attempt to be all things to all people. That's the negative. You always want to be all things to all people."

Roman admits about one out of every three applicants for lower school and about one out of every five for upper school. However, the refusal rate for minorities is not that high. Generally, the school accepts seventy-five percent of their minority applicants. Altering the standards for minority students is based on several factors. First, typical admissions indicators such as standardized tests tend to be culturally biased, so that these criteria are not given as much weight in the admissions decision making process for minorities. Second, the school has made a conscious decision to increase the number of minorities in the school. It was not until 1966, that the first black student was admitted to Roman school. Today, the black students constitute less than ten percent of the student population, which the school maintains is too small, based on the school age population of Chicago and the nation.

Both teachers and administrators voiced concerns over the small number of black students in the school. The admissions director was concerned that there were not enough black peer role models for the black students in the school. Overall, most of the comments indicated that more black students are needed to provide an adequate social environment for the blacks in the school, and a more balanced view of the nation's population for the nonblack students.

There has been some resistance to Roman's plan to increase the number of minorities in school from a few board of trustee members. However, the greatest obstacle has been recruiting academically able minority students to apply. As a result of this problem, the school created a position for a minority recruiter, to try and set up an information network about Roman school in the black community. The admissions director admitted that this is probably not the best solution. Roman's best minority recruiters, she maintains, are the alumns and the parents. To provide further assistance with black recuitment, the administration has called upon the parents' minority affairs committee, to help them with their efforts.

Fairly consistent across the teacher and administrative interviews was the strong belief that minority students can succeed academically at Roman. Socially however, several teachers admitted there were some problems, primarily which centered on dating. Both teachers and the director of admissions reported that the most important variable for minority success at school was the home environment. This viewpoint was shared by the headmaster.

The board of trustees is another important policy committee which assists the school in achieving its' goals. As discussed earlier, the board of trustees is the governing board of the school. They are the ultimate authority in determining school policies, they also are responsible for evaluating the performance of the headmaster.

At Roman, the board of trustees is very supportive of the goals of the school and the headmaster. With respect to how the board supports the school, the headmaster made the following comments: "...They're good public relations experts. They speak well of the school. they do the work, show up at meetings, work on committees and support us financially. They're eager for information, they offer opinions, they're constructive, they're very professional." Board members also perceived of themselves as very supportive of the school. They report spending numerous hours on various committees and making substantial financial contributions to the school. The strengths of the school, from the boards' perspective included such statements as "...The teachers get to know individual students and work with them, the teachers have time to teach.", "...involves the parents in the life of the school", and "...outstanding faculty."

When asked if the parents and board were supportive of the headmaster, the results were positive. Board members were very candid about the strengths and weaknesses of the headmaster. One board member made the following statement, "He is a new headmaster and has made some significant changes in the administration. Bold moves like that can expose a person to criticism, but I think on the whole, the parents understand and appreciate the substantive nature of the contributions he is making." The headmaster also saw the board as supportive of him, "They understand very well the relationship between the church and state. They make policies, I run the school. That's conscious on their part. Best board I ever worked with, far and away." Both board members and headmaster admit that there have been some conflicts however, all admit that final decisions concerning the operation of the school are in the hands of the headmaster.

Undoubtedly, the most significant determiner in achieving the school's goals occurs through the efforts of the teachers. The majority of parents at Roman school emphasize the importance of compete knowledgeable teachers in the educative process. Substantial resources are expended at Roman in the hiring of teachers and in the maintenance of a comprehensive professional development program.

To be a successful, effective teacher at Roman, according to the headmaster "First, you have to be highly concerned about kids. Excited about helping kids learn and develop as people. Second, really strong knowledge of the subject matter. I am not talking methodology. I'm talking do you know an awful lot about Russian history. If you are excited about Russian history and you know a lot about it, and care about kids, we got a game. You have to be poised and confident. This is a difficult environment to feel confident in." Teacher saw themselves as successful when their students were learning important information. Respect of the students, their parents and colleagues was also a measure of teacher success.

When recruiting teachers, the school looks for several qualifications according to the headmaster, "Excellent education. Good colleges, good grades, we look at transcripts. An independent school experience and an appreciation of the methods of an independent school. Successful teaching experience. We won't hire anybody at this place who hasn't been a successful teacher." Several of the teachers that were interviewed had these qualifications, several had gone to a prestigious school, such as Brown, Northwestern, and the University of Chicago, majored in education at either the undergraduate or masters level and had prior teaching experience at a private school. However, several of the teachers, primarily those with more than ten years of experience, did not have these characteristics.

Teachers and administrators both report an esprit de corps among the faculty. Comments by the headmaster indicate a close professional and social relationship among the faculty: "They work hard. Everybody works hard. And if you don't work hard, you are not one of the boys...They have a lot of TGIF parties. They see each other socially. They take open and obvious pleasure in one another. They have tremendous respect for good teaching and enjoy being around good teachers. They are frequently complemented by one another. Whereas in the public school system, the really charismatic, successful teacher could be resented, in this situation he or she is enjoyed. And they are pretty open about it. They like to visit each others classrooms." Similar responses were made by the teachers, "Our goals are the same, we work together.", "...people are monitoring, caring, active, and intense."

Although the headmaster was very supportive of his teachers in the interview, the teachers were not as uniformly supportive of him. There are several explanations for this. After an extensive nationwide search, the current headmaster was appointed to his position one year prior to the interview. As one teacher commented, "The appointment of a new person generates conflict and confusion." These feelings of uncertainty among the faculty were exacerbated, because one of the first tasks the new headmaster undertook was to make several major changes in the adminsitration and operation of the school. (These changes were verified by members of the board of trustees and the teachers.) Reactions to these changes were mixed. Several of the headmaster's proposed changes were "hotly" debated among the faculty. In the interviews with the teachers none of the hotly debated issues concerned either the appointments of a minority affairs person or the minority affairs committee. Some, for example, were whether to issue next year's contract in January or April, requirements for summer school and changes in the grading scale. Even though there has been considerable dissension over specific matters, the faculty viewed the headmaster as decisive, caring, respectful and compassionate educational "leader".

Being the headmaster at Roman school is a demanding job. According to the headmaster in a typical work week. "On Mondays through Fridays I'm never here later than 6:30 in the morning and I'm never out of here before 6:45 each night, and two nights a week I have a night meeting. That's all Roman school business. I'm here all day Saturday from about 8:30 until 5:00 and on Sunday afternoons from noon to 5:00." The headmaster commented that a 75 hour work week is not uncommon for heads of private schools. Given the tremendous amount of time and responsibility for managing and operating a private school, the headmaster was asked what makes him continue to be a headmaster at the school. He replied: "I'm money hungry I guess. I'm well paid. I'm probably one of the highest paid headmasters in the country. This school has everything that you could hope for, it has the resources, it has the kids, it has the faculty. We can be as good as we have the imagination to be. Nothing gets in our way, we are not hindered by the government...We have all the opportunities to try out ideas, to develop curriculum, to work with kids,...That's why I like it."

Not only does the headmaster spend an inordinate amount of time at his job, his school related responsibilities are extensive. For example he is a member of the admissions committee, he works with his academic dean on determining if what is taught is worth teaching and how well it is taught, he is directly involved with discipline matters in the upper school and the final authority on expulsions in the middle and lower school, and he conducts all of the teacher evaluations, 103 of them, which involve classroom visitations.

### Summary

The faculty and administration at Roman school work extremely hard at their jobs. They see and conduct themselves as professionals. Their academic standards are very high and work to create an appropriate learning environment so that the students can meet these standards. Both parents and school believe they are part of this academic environment.

However, socially, Roman school is a upper to upper-middle class predominately "white school". It has had this tradition since its' beginning. Little is known of how the school decided to desegregate in 1966. This presents particular problems to the black students, even when of comparable socioeconomic class backgrounds to nonblack students. The school is trying to increase the number of black students in the school. It wants to have a racially and ethnically diverse student body. Yet, many faculty do not promote within the classroom an understanding or appreciation of the black students in the school. More problematically many of the black students and their parents seem to want to be treated as white, and/or support Roman's color blinded philosophy. Supporting diversity and at the same time refusing to acknowledge it in the student body, presents an anomaly Roman will eventually have to resolve. The headmaster expressed some concern about the college choices of his adolescent black students. Many seem more interested in attending predominately black institutions rather than elite colleges and universities. Perhaps, the students are seeking institutions which both compensate for the lack of social and networking opportunities they encountered at Roman, and affirm their identities as black Americans.

Commitment to the goals of Roman school is shared among the administration and faculty. Both teachers and headmaster report shared academic standards for the students, but they also report using very different methods to achieve their goals. Chapter 12, describes in detail how the goals of Roman school are operationalized in the classroom.

## St. August

In the heart of one of Chicago's multi-cultural and racially diverse, low income areas is the St. August school. Located on a residential street, bounded by vacant lots and apartment buildings undergoing renovation or badly in need of repair, sits the weathered brick church which houses the St. August school. A small door to the right of the church serves as the entrance to a dark, stairwell sparsely adorned with religious symbols. Teachers, and students climb up the worn black steps, to the second floor. On the right side of the staircase is a corridor which adjoins the school to the rectory. On the left side is the school. Few traces of the austere church edifice permeate in the school. Colorful student pictures and essays cover old peeling, cracked walls. Shaped in a "t" formation are the classrooms, library, and administrative office. Students eat lunch, hold assemblies, and exercise in the church basement. Within this small, relatively economically poor religious school, a dedicated and caring principal and faculty work diligently to provide a quality education to its' diverse student population.

### School history

An established landmark of the neighborhood, St. August was founded in 1916. The principal gave the following account of the school's history. "I know the parish is 65 years old and as far back as anyone can go,the school is about as old because when they formed the parish, one of the first things was to get a school. The school as I understand it, before they built the top story of the church, was in the rectory and the rectory was in another building across the street. The Sisters of Peace of the Blessed Virgin, the ones that run a Catholic college, (the name of the Sister's order has been changed to protect the confidentiality of the order) were here for years and finally they built the classrooms above the school.....They taught here for just years and it was a strong basic Catholic education but they were also very strong in music...They had huge classes. Each sister probably had 60-70 children....The sisters were here until about-I think about thirteen years ago, and then they left and there's been one or two other sisters, here but right now we do not have any...The principal whose place I took was a sister of the order."

The exit of the Sisters of Peace, symbolized a significant change in the student population and curriculum of St. August. In the early 1970's the school population was largely non-Catholic, a considerable proportion of whom were Greek Orthodox. In 1972, the present Pastor was sent to St. August. He made several changes. "I brought in more parish kids, Latinos. At that time the school had an ungraded program (Individually Guided Education) run by the sisters. I felt the program wasn't working, largely because of language problems. Sisters were defensive but the school was not functioning; it was 'out of hand'. I asked for an evaluation from the Catholic School board, who concurred with my opinion. Neither teaching or learning was going on. I terminated all the staff and brought in people involved in education to choose the staff. The teachers had to reapply, but most declined including the principal. We dumped the old curriculum and it has been pretty consistent since then."

From the priest's perspective, the poor quality of the school in the early 1970's was reflective of an attitude in the parish that "...since there are poor parishioners one's own work must reflect poverty, like poor quality paper. There was a crazy solidarity with the poor-one's own work must be shoddy. The ends became a means. Nuns were trying to work out their own salvation by working with the poor-an egocentric view. School should be to teach children. This attitude is now gone from the school but sometimes remains in the parish."

The director of religious education gave a similar account of the history of St. August. He felt that the problem of the sisters was "They wanted to teach rich kids, not neighborhood kids. There was a crisis at St. August when they were asked to leave." After the sisters resigned, "...A priest acted as principal, next we had three lay principals, first left when pregnant, second, asked to leave, didn't work well with teachers or staff, and the third is the current principal."

A new educational tradition for St. August began in the early 1970's. As the principal states "At one time I have been assured that this parish was a very traditional Irish Catholic parish. It was started by a small group who wanted it to be small. They had money...It has completely changed--St. August is a very viable parish, in that everyday something new happens, it's like somebody's always visiting here to start something new. Like we have a sister here now trying to find a new kind of administrator." The director of religious education also commented on the changes at St. August, "Probably nothing remains from the days of the sisters. Recent traditions: 1) a Christmas concert,...2) educating for social justice, spent last Lent discussing Nuclear War. Kids live in a neighborhood where questions of justice are visible--this study led to picketing by the students of President Reagan when he was speaking before National Catholic Education Association, 3) hope parents club becomes a tradition."

Today, the mayhem of the 1970's is clearly behind St. August. The principal and faculty of seven teachers, and reading specialist instruct 183 students, grades kindergarten through eighth. A traditional Catholic school curriculum has replaced the once individualized program. However, this curriculum while traditional in its' basic skills content now also includes serious discussion and review of the social and moral issues of today. This information is presented with the expectation that the students will have compassion for the plight of others and be willing to make changes in the world. This total educational program is executed with care, concern, understanding and appreciation of the diverse families it serves.

St. August is a neighborhood school and the composition of the student body has changed with the neighborhood. Gone are the Greek families, replaced by Latinos, Asians, Indians and blacks. As the principal states,"At one time Father tells me that this was a very strong Greek community around here, and they had many, many Greek children here and then it started to shift, a gradually shifting process...You know how it is with changes, it's hard to tell there was a change until all of a sudden you say, 'hey, the neighborhood changed'. But it is changing, there's a lot of rehabing going on around here. It's reflective in what's happening here too, I think. I see a difference in the year I came here. The young single mothers are much more educated and are really sharp."

Each new group that becomes a part of the St. August community is respected. Ethnic and racial differences are welcomed, openly acknowledged and deferentially regarded. Reflecting on what effect attending an ethnically and racially diverse school has on the quality of education, the principal comments, "I think a great deal. I think these kids are getting the best education in the world by learning about each other peoples' cultures, even how they look, how they speak. Some kinds of kids speak a little different. But you see, if they are loving and caring and respect each other, that all plays a big part. They visit each other and they eat different foods, it is amazing to me to hear kids talk about this. And they go to each other's birthday parties and the customs and foods are different. All these things are an education in itself. I love it. I wouldn't be anywhere else in the whole wide world at this point. It is a neighborhood school."

St. August is not only ethnically and racially diverse, it also is religiously diverse. The school still draws a considerable number of students who are not Catholic. The education of these individuals is treated with the same respect and care that the school has for its' parishioner students. For example, one of the inservice topics, for several months was the education needs of the non Catholics. The principal explains, "...We had expressed some concerns that had been going on for some time that we were not really adequately dealing with our non-Catholic students and fitting them into the framework. In that, they would feel comfortable and that we would feel comfortable with them, because they are here, they are part of the school and they're an integral part of our school, they're our students. We felt this was very important, so for two months we invited a person for three hours each inservice time to deal with these problems, to help us deal with them, and to teach religion more from the standpoint of basic moral values that anyone could relate to, I think that helped us a great deal..."

The principal sees as one of her foremost concerns creating an environment which exemplifies the type of morals and social skills the school desires to develop in its' students. "...We would like our school to be a caring, loving, and sharing school. We've really worked hard at this all year. We try to get students to appreciate peace and justice,...When the call came to develop peace and justice in our schools, we were ahead of the game...At our awards ceremony at the end of the year, we had invited the parents, many who came and some outside visitors who were looking at schools...as to whether they would send their children to the school or not, and some visitors were from the ecumenical institute, which is a religious community within itself. After the ceremony----one person said, it was very striking...you have such a loving and caring for all....It hit us...this is what we have all been trying and maybe with my leadership, to make this school like that. That's a real concern of mine, that we do this because we have twenty-three ethnic groups now...If the students are not loved and cared, then I don't see any hope for the world at all. I really do not. I think that's where it has to start. I've seen it here, it's been really a terrific year."

### Educational goals

The educational goals of the priest, principal and teachers reinforce a deep dedication to moral and social development. Acquisition of basic skills is seen as a means to help the child succeed in the world. Educational success is being consciously aware of the world's problems and helping those less fortunate than oneself. The principal's response to what are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in this school was, "It's interesting you should ask that. I don't know if you read the article in the _Sun Times_ about this...You know I have been thinking so much about this, beause she really epitomized it exactly the way I think I feel about it, and I saved it and I made a copy for each teacher because I thought it was just terrific....She said that a really good educational program is teaching skills that the students can relate to, serving others in the world, getting parents involved, and praying. I think that's about what it comes down to that they have those skills that they can really get along in the world, and it comes down to reading and the basics and all that. Then relate to each other, love each other and relate to everyone else. I think that parents have to be brought into it too, and I think children are the best teachers at the end."

The priest's perception of the essential elements of a quality education demonstrate a concern for basic skills and social development, whereas the director of religious education emphasizes basic skills and moral development. The priest's comments, "I feel strongly about quality. Basics are important, reading and writing skills. Kids are not well grounded in this at the public schools. Math is less important. I would push liberal arts over science. Although I would like computers, but they may get them in high school. I have not thought about it much. I think we need to help kids fit in today's world. Make our kids aware of the world's problems." In contrast to the principal and priest, the director of religious education, who is the chair of religion and curriculum in the school, stresses the importance of moral development, "As for education in general I don't think a lot about it. I see what happens: kids working in groups, not knowing English and learning to read. This can happen because of small school and groups. Kids who can compete well in high school and go on beyond that. As for religious education, the experience of being a community in the school. It is less important to learn facts then to reflect on experiences and use that to make faith more personal. Kids should experience a personal call to grow in faith."

Although the principal, priest, and director of religious education emphasize different aspects of a quality education, their responses all openly acknowledge that the essential elements of a quality education is a combination of learning basic skills and social and moral development. The teachers also stressed the importance of basic skills and social development. Moral development tended not to be included in their answers. Several of the teacher responses include: "Teacher who knows subject matter and gets it across to kids - head and heart, help to deal with situations they live in, use full potential in brains and heart"; "That they learn and more that they understand, sense of respect for people and things, a good self image."; and "Apply all basics to real life-situations-reading, mathematics and manners."

Religious education at St. August, per se is not mentioned as an essential element of a quality education by the school personnel. Rather they emphasize the learning of a Christian tradition which highlights the concepts of developing one's faith, search for peace and social justice. The director of religious education commenting about how his view of education is reflected in this school states, "Can happen if teachers try to create an environment that is more caring, less competitive. Church has come out of a period of thinking that religious education is learning facts. Now interested in growing faith, 'catechizers' bringing one's own faith out, not forcing it in, is the new way of thinking. Having monthly liturgy, which I started three years ago. Sometimes have a theme. Liturgy is a prayer service but not necessarily a mass (want to incorporate non-Catholic kids therefore not always a mass). Need more parental involvement...We feel that the parents, not the school are the primary teachers for religion. Want to bring in pastors from other churches the students attend so as to help non-Catholics realize their faith.."

From the principal's viewpoint, the goals of the school are not realized through the curriculum but rather through the teachers. Consequently the principal places a great deal of value on teacher and administrator evaluations. She states, "I evaluated the teachers this year because I think that's a part of my job, and I think it's only fair to them...We spent a whole faculty meeting, a couple of faculty meetings, in fact, on evaluations. I do not want them to feel threatened. I want them to feel easy about it...but I did want them to know what was happening. Then I said to them by the same token-I don't think it's right and I don't think it's fair, I don't think it's ethical for a principal to say hey, I'm going to evaluate every one of you and then closes the book, I said I am going to give you a form and I want you to evaluate me. So, at a conference, before they signed their contracts, they made it a point-they set a time with me and we met and we discussed what I had evaluated-as far as my evaluation was concerned and then we discussed what they had to say about me..."

The teachers share the princpal's view and responded that the essential elements of a quality education were reflected in the work of their colleagues and the principal. For example, one teacher states, "The view of the staff, we work together, try to be holistic," And from two others, "Exemplified here, completely cooperative climate, can't find one negative aspect, very unusual everybody equal," and "The principal, wants to get through to the kids, cares." However, the teachers also emphasized that the goals of the school are transmitted through the social value structure they try to impart to the children. As one teacher remarks, "positive self image, all the teachers try to build in the kids, want kids to feel good about themselves." The total commitment the teachers have to actualizing their ideological view of a quality education has some negative aspects. As one teacher's mentions, "It can be draining." And from another, "Burn out, if you don't know where to draw the line, if you try to do everything."

The type of education that is valued at St. August, is one that teaches basic skills in conjunction with social and moral values. The emphasis is not on religious training or dogma, but rather on developing within the students an awareness of social problems which hopefully will eventuate into social responsibility. This value structure is held for all students regardless of their ethnic or racial backgrounds.

These values are manifested in the goals, and academic standards the school has for it's students. The school's first priority is to strengthen basic skills and to create a fuller educational experience for the children. As the principal states, "....Our goal in this next year-our big goal is going to be to get every kid on reading level or well above it. I'm not satisfied with reading level. In the intermediate and the upper grades it's happening well above level. Fantastic! Math, our kids are good at math, it's incredible so I never worry too much about math. It's our primary grades that I'm very concerned. So, I've already indicated to teachers that at the beginning of the year we are going to really talk about this, we're going to explore this, we're going to look at ways that we can together as a concerted action really get that reading in the primary grades and keep it going into intermediate and upper. I'll say one of our immediate goals on basic education is to really get kids reading." In addition to improving the reading in the primary grades, the principal expressed a desire to enhance the quality of the music and physical educational programs, "We're really trying to get on track. I'm also looking into a basic music program that we can start throughout the whole school. We're also thinking about physical education. One of the problems is that we do not have a gym. However, I think aerobics and gymnastics could certainly take the place of that. It was really ironic because one night-I can just about pinpoint it-one night I was disturbed about the fact of physical education. I get disturbed every once in a while because I think it's necessary for our kids."

Another goal which the principal and priest both commented on, was trying to get support so that graduating eighth grade students unable to afford to go to Catholic high schools could, and eventually matriculate on to college. The operation of this program was explained by the principal, "I don't know if you're aware that we have a scholarship program that's built on donations. Costs us about $15,000 a year. Any student from the graduating class who wants to go to a Catholic high school and is accepted, we'll help them with their tuition...Like last year we had seventeen graduates and only one is not going to a Catholic high school. Now we don't care if the kids are Catholic, that is not the point. The point is we want them going to a good school. I guess maybe it's wrong on our part to feel that for the most part Catholic high schools are better..."

The school holds the same values and goals for all students regardless of their racial or ethnic backgrounds as well as those that are new to the school. The school cherishes the tradition, of making all students feel welcome in the school. As the director of religious education remarked, "Kids don't remain outsiders for very long." All of the teachers responded that there were "No special expectations for black students." It is expected that all students will become imbued with the tradition, rules and regulations of the St. August school.

The strong communal spirit that the school values for its students also extends to the parents. In the past, parent participation in school life was not welcome. However, under the present principal, families are actively encouraged to participate in school activities and visit the school at any time. Encouraging the parents to be actively involved in school life accomplishes several purposes. In addition, to creating feelings of belonginess, participation strengthens family commitment to the goals and values of the school. But perhaps the most important role participation fulfills in this school, is parental education. The school consistently informs the parents not only about the child's academic progress but what their role should be in the total education process.

Communication, is the key to building a close relationship between the home and school, according to the principal. She comments, "We started a parents club last year and I was not too interested in having a parents club started from the standpoint of fundraising. I was really more interested in a parents club as a means of communication...I know for a fact that more parents come into the office or talk to me outside or invite me over for things, this year there has probably been more communication than ever...But I always have this lingering feeling and doubt that we have an awful long way to go...I would love 100 percent communication with the parents, I would love it. I feel very strongly that in all aspects it is their school. It is not the teachers' school, the parish school, although it is a parish school strictly speaking. But it is their school, they pay tuition, and they have a stake in what's happening to their children, more than they would have a stake in if they didn't pay tution..I will say this that parents for the most part feel...free in calling and talking to teachers. Even making suggestions or asking why this is happening and why that isn't, which I think is okay..."

And the parents do get involved in the school, probably because the principal actively encourages them to, "...I think there are many administrators and teacher that don't want parents in the schools. That's exactly what it comes down to. This year our feeling is come visit us any time. We want to know what you're thinking. If you have any problems we want you to call and ask. Every memo or letter I send out to the parents I say if you have any problems, I always end it with that. If you have any questions to ask please feel free to call me, and I mean it, I give them the phone number."

Communication between parents and the school is the most frequent form of participation. As the principal mentions, "I always tell the teachers that probably the one thing that helped me the most in communication with parents, in view of the fact that we did not have committees or organizations, was the telephone. By Christmas of every year, I knew every phone number by heart." The majority of the teachers also report that they frequently receive calls from parents and sometimes from students. The teachers also commented that they made quite a few calls to parents. These calls are not strictly related to discipline, for the principal encourages the teachers to call the home when the child does something good: 'I tell the teachers all the time and they will tell you this, "do not call parents all the time only when a child needs to be disciplined, the parent doesn't need to know he's not doing good work,' I say 'try the other tact' which I think works wonders. That is if that kid does anything remotely good on any one day, I mean remotely good, call his parents that night." The principal also encourages the teachers to visit student homes, and always accept invitations to birthday parties or dinners.

Although there is an open invitation to visit the classrooms, few parents do. As the director of religious education states, "Parents are welcome to observe in classrooms but few do it. Asians and Latinos don't feel it's their role to come in." There also are language problems for the non-English speaking parents. A few parents are volunteers in the school, one parent acts as an aide, another is the school secretary. One of the problems in trying to get a volunteer in the school states the principal,"...is not that we couldn't get them, however, we have so many single families where the mother's working."

Fundraising, is one activity that receives considerable parent support. As the principal explains, "Well, you know it's an interesting thing about this parents club, we do not have such a huge attendance at meetings it probably runs even above the average. We only have 111 families, so if you have a representation of 25 you already have a pretty good group..but it doesn't look that thick, however, whenever we sponsor anything we get great cooperation. Like if we have a bake sale or a dinner dance that's for the school...They gave me almost $4,000.00 this year...They sold calendars...They sold things at Christmas time, like candles and things like that. They sold popcorn. They had a dinner dance. Bake sales. They came up with it. They were incredible. They donated almost..well...a little over $1100...for our new library, for getting new shelves."

The cooperation the school receives from the parents, seems attributable to the strong communal ties that the school develops between the students, their families and the school. As the principal states "I think basically they may not even be able to voice it, most of our parents love the school. We have some families that moved this year so their children won't be coming here, distance, if you move to Oklahoma City you could hardly keep your kids here. But we have a couple of other parents that have moved and their kids refuse to go to another school. Part of it is the friendships they form. It is such a close knit friendship thing...When you stop to think about it you begin to realize how important it is to children to have good friends. In neighborhoods like this or any neighborhood for that matter." Not only do the parents feel a part of the school commmunity they are solidly committed to continuing its' existence, as the principal remarked, "We have the parents here-I think that they would fight for this school. They had tried to close this school once before. When they took a survey to find out how many of these parents would even send their children to another Catholic school was about 10 percent. They said 'If our kids can't go to St. August we won't send them anywhere'.. So they kept the school open."

The school builds this sense of commitment through a respect and understanding of the problems and needs of the many diverse families it serves. The same care and concern the school has for the children is also extended to the parents. Both priest and principal indicated that in this school community they come to depend on the children to teach their parents. As the priest comments, "Parents here are often learning about the U.S.A., learning about customs and behaviors from their kids, for example some of the parents don't know how to use indoor plumbing." The principal sharing the priest's view states, "I think we are at a stage in education, I see it here all the time, where I think our children do more teaching of their parents than those parents are teaching them. For instance, the young child, we have so many of them,..and their mother for instance has really had a tough time and maybe some really crazy men are around. One goes out the back door and there is another one coming in the front door just like him. And we have children here who have survived that, who weathered that, who can accept it realistically, who see what that is worth and they talk about it...And they have talked about it to their parents and many parents would say, 'hey you know my kid came home and told me this, or we thought this through or we sat down and talked about this', So I think we minimize, we always think of parents as teachers but I think there's a whole world that we need to explore and that's children."

Given this context, it is understandable that this principal views the parent role in the learning process as one that reinforces what is learned at school. As she explains, "I consider parents teachers too, in a certain sense, although we talked about the children as teachers, I do see the parents as teachers. However, they have to be helped. I think teachers should call on parents to help children. However, there is some difference that comes in. A parent cannot help a child who doesn't know the material himself or the child doesn't understand it...I always made it a policy and I tell the teachers you don't send materials home that are new, you send reinforcing material home, things that have already been well taught." Because then it's easy for the child to do it, it should be very simple for him to do it. It's reinforcing. That's where the teaching comes in. A parent can be doing it with the child but in many instances a child will really be helping the parent."

This perception of the difference between the parent's role and the teacher's role in helping children to learn was viewed somewhat differently by the priest, director of religious education and the teachers. On a continnum, several of the teacher responses are very similar and supportive of the principal's position. For example, some of the teacher responses include, "Teachers, teach, parents reinforce. Overlapping, both try to do the same thing with the child for the betterment of the school,""Parents role is socialization they can't teach numbers or reading," and "Not much difference, teachers trained but parents are important. Parents should uphold the values of the classroom and vice versa." The priest gives the parents slightly more authority and responsibility for the child's education than the principal and teachers, "Ideally there is no difference between the parent's role and the teacher's role. In practice teachers are professionals, parents are not. But parents are the core teachers of children." Whereas, the director of religious education articulates a much more distinctive and central role for the parents, "Parents should provide a model of interest in learning. They should provide structure in the home where kids can study. Teach their children to know the importance of reading and mathematics and to ask questions. In religion, the home is the primary source of learning. This is a problem for many kids, especially in single parent homes. Education is only a supplement, home is for religious training."

Although the school maintains that it is the central authority for the child's education, it also places a great deal of importance on role of home environment in the child's education. The school recognizes that it needs the support of the home if it is to teach the child. To ensure that the families can provide a quality home environment, the school has made several significant decisions. All letters, evaluations of students, handbooks or any other important school documents that are sent home to the parents, are written in the language of the home whenever possible. The school has begun to work cooperatively with neighborhood mental health facilities to help if a child is having difficulty in the classroom and at home.

From the school's perspective, the academic problems of a child are primarily the result of emotional and social problems at home. Remarking about the eight students the school referred to a mental health facility, the principal suggests that the academic problems the students have are directly related to the child's home environment. "Practically every instance it's family causing the problem in the first place." In nearly all the school interviews, the home was often viewed as the source of the academic or social problems a student was having at school. As the director of religious education states, "Home environment creates problems because of fighting, drinking, etc., kids play it out socially by either withdrawing or acting out." Concerns over the negative home environment and it's effect on the academic and social behavior that some of the students are exposed to was expressed by several teachers. Describing the importance of the home environment, one teacher states, "Home should be the reinforcer, in reality not much help-parents are worried about putting food on the table-You're the teacher you educate." Instead of depending on the home to instill and model desirable social behaviors, some of the teachers commented that they find themselves trying to overcome the negative influences of the home at school, "When there is no respect at home, I have to intervene," and "Kids need limits, can't get them with an alcoholic father".

The home environment, is seen by the principal, priest, director of religious education and teachers as very important to the child's development. However, for many of the students, the home creates a negative environment which the school tries to counteract. Generally, the black students do not seem to encounter as many of the negative home influences some of the other groups in the school. Although many of the black students come from single parent homes, the mothers are seen by the school as positive influences on their children. The principal stresses the importance of the mother when commenting on how important the home environment is to a black child's academic performance, "I would say more important. But you know that in some instances, not all, that is the mother who is there, more often than not the father isn't. It is not to say that the father is not important he is. I think that is the problem. I think that many of these youngsters really need a good male image, but that is the same with white single mothers. I think it always comes to a toss up, in terms of which parent is most important...I know what I would say, but I guess. I would say maternal. I would say the loving, the nurturing. You know, I almost say that with tears in my eyes but I think that is true."

Both the director of religious education and the priest commented that the home environment was a positive influence on many of the black children at St. August. When answering how important is the home environment to a black child's academic performance, the director of religious education states, "Black kids come here with fewer problems, speaking English-behave as Americans. Lots of single mothers, but mom's articulate." The priest while recognizing some problems also maintains that the black students are in more positive home environments: "Lack of family stability is a problem, but same problem as other minorities, except Orientals. This neighborhood has many problem families. Whites may be worse than blacks here. Black families value education more than

Appalachian, Latinos or American Indians, although still problems, blacks doing very well, at least in this neighborhood. Black families in this neighborhood are pretty stable. Sometimes tensions with interracial marriage causes emotional problems in kids."

According to the director of religious education, black families should include special features in their overall educational program because their children are black Americans, "The families that are involved emphasize black pride, celebrate King day. We're not considered a black parish, although they're the largest number in the school. We do a lot with black history month and the parents like that." The principal believes that the most important thing a family can do is to develop, "A good sense of what I am. I really believe that if you have a strong sense of identity and you feel good about yourself and you know your strengths and you know your weaknesses,...Basically, I think a good, really good feeling about yourself is all important." The teachers, stressed appreciation of black history, and awareness of prejudice and discrimination.

St. August prides itself on the diverse number of racial and ethnic groups it serves. One of the overriding goals of the school is to create a positive ethnic and racial identity for their students. Differences among the groups are openly acknowledged and appreciated. The school is very sensitive to the special problems students may have in the school because they are minority students, as the director of religious education states, "Asian are greatest problem because of biggest cultural changes and the families have gone through so much-camps, boat people. All have relatives that have been killed. Non-English speaking parents and the kids are forgetting their native tongue. This may really erupt in adolescence when kids want to be American and parents are Asian." Similar problems were expressed by the priest, "We do not have interracial problems. There are cultural and language problems especially if from a primitive culture. Especially when girls reach puberty, teaching them about kotex..How to teach them to cope with winter." Teacher responses were similar to the priest and tended to be focussed on language problems.

The principal's view again centered on single family homes, "There is one overall problem, and that is the single parent. I mean, I am beginning to realize that the problem or the hurt is more with the parent than with the child. Sometimes you see these parents who are trying so hard to do the right thing for their child. And they are hurting. They are having terrible times doing it. Maintaining..."

As for black Americans, the school again takes the position that they are having fewer problems in school than other minority groups, as the principal states, "I think that black Americans have come into their own and are coming. And especially the younger generation goes as far as identity. But I think that it is our job to see that they get a good sense of self. And maybe we have done that here." The director of religious education sees black students in the school as having fewer problems than blacks in other environments: "They're not in a minority environment in a depressed area like the West Side. Better off than other areas. This area is more accepting." Only a few teachers mentioned any specific problems such as "Having to encourage them not to join gangs," and "if product of a mixed marriage, confusing to them when issues of heritage are brought up, 'what am I' not drastic, but it does effect them."

The school administrators consistently responded that the black American will not have any problems later in school because they are black Americans, with the exception of the director of religious education who stated, "Maybe a shock when leave a small school to a big school but that's not a racial issue." Teacher comments were quite different. Several teachers mentioned that the black students will encounter prejudice and discrimination in the world, but felt they would be equipped to deal with it after leaving St. August. Two other teachers commented that blackness can be used as an excuse when one encounters problem. For example, when asked do you think that black Americans will have any problems later in school because they are black Americans? they remarked, "No-only if they want to use as an excuse not to succeed-Have advantages whites don't have-no more opportunites. Not discrimination against them like there used to be-if of equal ability", and "only from the home-hope parents don't develop attitude in child that they are minority, should get certain things, rebel."

In order to develop a positive and racial identity for their students the school undertakes a variety of different activities. As the principal comments "Well we have tried to do different things. It is very difficult when you have many groups. I think if we only had one group it would be very simple..We tried, not last year, but in the two years previous to put on ethnic conerts. It was very successful...We tried to get every ethnic group represented. We had East Indian songs. We had some black dancers. We tried to do anything that was symbolic of their culture, costumes, songs, food..." The school also celebrates various ethnic holidays, such as Our Lady of Guadalupe, Vietnamese New Year and encourages the children to talk about culture.

All of the teachers responded that it was important for them to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity for their minority and black students. Some of the things they do in the classroom include, "We do social studies reports on heritage, ancestors,...discuss it any chance...talk about differences," "try to develop a sense of what has happened to culture in history, understand each others culture," and "try to have holiday celebrations for ethnic groups,...look at Chicago, discuss its' diversity."

Ethnic and racial diversity permeate every aspect of school life at St. August. Even parents club meetings require translators,"...Can you imagine this, everyone at P.T.A. meetings and many who don't speak English. Do you know the problems you've got there. Here we have 35 Spanish people, half of them don't speak English, Here you have a group of Orientals, half of them do not speak English. This is at a parent's club meeting, so we have a translator...It is beautiful, but at the same time it is very frustrating, can you imagine how frustrating it is for them? Then you say to yourself how long can you expect them to keep coming? Right? Under these conditions. I really don't know how to get past that problem. Though I have thought about it so much and so often. I had thought about it with letters at home to the parents, hopefully the children will read the letters at home to the parents. I have tried sending letters home in Spanish and Vietnamese. The problems with that is that it takes so long to get the person who is translating to translate."

In spite of these problems, the school maintains attending an ethnically and racially diverse school has a great deal to do with the quality of education. Discussing the value of ethnic and racial diversity in the school, the director of religious education states, "Academic stuff happens the same, but you get a wider view of life. Learn about diversity. Learn that your culture isn't the only one. That openness is a more basic education. Makes an open mind." By attending a school like St. August, with its' 23 different nationalities the priest believes that barriers are broken down across ethnic groups.

St. August is a neighborhood school, the effect of this on the children's lives from the principal's perspective is positive, "Well they are forced to have their friends in the community to begin with. So many of their friends go to school here also, some of them don't but most of them do. Also, their social life and the things that they do, the experiences that they are exposed to, have forced on them, it is good, it is really good." Attending a neighborhood school like St. August, has spillover effects on the social experiences of the children and their parents outside of school, as the director of religious education comments, "Outside the school, students live in a mixed community. So acceptance learned in school may extend to the street. Changing neighborhood problems can be addressed in the school. We can look at how national policy on neighborhoods affects their block. As the neighborhood is rehabed it will mean fewer kids. Richest Vietnamese have left the neighborhood already. Boat people less likely to be Catholic."

The students know they are part of a community with many problems as the principal states, "...if you asked these kids if they would want to live anywhere else I think most of them would say no. Because it is exciting..." The students are living in a world where violence, and drugs are always present: "They all know the drug peddlers that are on the street. There is hardly a kid in this school who couldn't tell you where to get drugs. They know which places to stay away from. They know not to walk down alleys. They go together in groups. They are very wise. When it comes to life." Living in this type of community makes the child a survivor, joining this determination with an education, according to the principal, makes the child a success: "...I look at my niece and nephews, they are so protected, they have such an upper middle class view of life that I don't know what is going to happen to them when they find out that not everybody lives that way. You know? I think that what it does for kids who live in a community like this, is that it does make them survivors. And I think that coupled with what a school in which you have people telling them 'Hey, you are great, you are really important,' I don't know how they can lose, myself."

The challenge of St. August is to provide an environment where children can succeed. The school, however, admits that it cannot provide adequate care for special education students. What the school has been able to accomplish is to create a stable learning environment where children are expected to perform certain tasks. Students who come to St. August have had problems in other schools, and are usually below grade level in reading, yet they succeed. "...We get kids that have failed, that can't make it, probably would never make it through the eighth grade and almost every child we get is below reading level, it is incredible, whether they are bright or whatever, and in the three years I have been here I know of only one failure." How the school is able to build such a track record is as much a product of the dedication of the administrators and staff as a function of the school curriculum and policy regulations.

Achieving goals

Establishing and implementing school policy at St. August is a very simplified process. The small size of the school and administrative style of the principal, help to shape an organizational structure which has consensual goals, participatory teacher administrator decision-making concerning curriculum matters, clear established policies for admissions, discipline, and teacher and student performance evaluations, and an enthusiastic espirit de corps among the school staff.

The curriculum at St. August is a standard traditional model, students have a period of religious instruction everyday, followed by basic education courses, reading, mathematics, English, science, social studies, art and music. When choosing textbooks, the principal brought in five different series in social studies and mathematics and asked the teachers to select one for all the grades. The teachers as a group had the final decision over the textbook selections, methods of instruction, and student activities. The kindergarten teacher was able to choose her own, because from the principal's perspective, "I felt that the kindergarten teacher should have her own...however grades one through eight should be sequential. And I don't like having two or three series in a school...There is always something missed. However, I said to them I will abide by their decision. Every teacher has a style. She knows what and how she likes to teach. Or how she teaches. Sometimes it isn't always the way you like to teach, it is what you are and what you bring to it...I find myself saying,...if I were teaching that I would do it this way, and then I kick myself and say, that is so wrong because that is what happens to them in college, they hear this all the time. So when they come out, after four years, they think there is only one way to teach. And that is the way the one person told them. To me that is so criminal. Because every one has their own style...Every person here is so different." From the teacher's perspective the final authority over curriculum matters is the principal. However, her decisions, according to the priest, are made under the guidance of the archdiocesan regulations.

All of the teachers are white and female. The majority of them are in their twenties, several have had training in special education, and they tend to have graduated from education programs although not necessarily from Catholic colleges. Some of them have always wanted to be a teacher while others made the decision in college. What is common among them, is that they all express a deep respect for each other and care and concern for the students. They work very long hours, many over 70 hours a week.

The principal is primarily responsible for the hiring of new teachers however, the priest does meet with them briefly and gives final approval and signs the contract. The priest also commented that "Teachers usually start as a substitute or in the summer school to get some sense of their skills." The priest hires the principal.

The type of teachers the school seeks to hire are those individuals who have standards, are willing to go to great lengths to make sure the children achieve these goals, and sincerely care about children. Describing the special characteristics she looks for in hiring new teachers, the principal comments,"...You know what I mean by toughness. It is not somebody who is really mean, you know. I think it is someone who can hold her own. Or his own. I would love a male teacher too. Who has great expectations because I think students like expectations. I think one who is not afraid to work, whatever it takes and you know, in a place like this they cannot be afraid to work...I think also, a certain buoyancy, you can be depressed one day, it happens to everyone, you go home you have a good night's sleep, and tomorrow is another day. I do look for that. A certain kind of buoyancy. A certain kind of adaptability to whatever comes along. Because I am not here to be a nursemaid. I am here to support them and even comfort them at times. But I am not here to hold their hand every minute of the day. There is a certain kind of something inside that person which helps them carry through the day. I think that I am very fortunate in that every teacher is like that. And I always say that they are not all alike but there is a certain rhythm in this school."

The rhythm of the school is evident in the remarks the teachers made about each other and the principal. All of the teachers commented that they felt that the teachers and principal were a good combination of people who work well together. Several reaons for why this combination works were expressed by a few teachers, "Everybody has their own role, something to add to the community, we all work together", "We are so small,...there are no cliques, no being better", and "it comes from a common vision, decisions are made together..." Admiration and great respect for the principal was also voiced by the teachers. They commented that the principal was always accessible, easy to talk to about problems, understanding, offered guidance in dealing with students and their families and very supportive of their work.

The communal spirit which dominates St. August school has its roots in the admission process. Unlike other types of private schools, admission at St. August is a very open process. The few restrictions concern tuition rates for Catholics and non-Catholics and available classroom space. As the principal explains, "We do have an admissions policy that regards Catholics and non-Catholics. We have a different tuition rate...If they are registered participating parishioners then they get one rate. However they are required to use church envelopes. Father always says he doesn't care if they don't put anything in, if they can just seal it with a kiss and drop it in the collection box. So money is not the issue there. Also those that are practicing, registered Catholics in the parish, we determine through their rent receipts or whatever, if they cannot pay the full tuition. So we award some full scholarships and some partials based on need."

Qualifications for admission to St. August are minimal. The school does its own evaluations, and testing levels. Regardless of test scores, all students are on a one month probation when they enter the school. "We will take children from other schools, even if they have failed. Some schools will not. We will. However, any child that comes in from another school, Catholic or otherwise, whether they pass or failed, whatever, we put them on one month probation, at the end of the month we consult with the child and the parents, and we say, 'hey, we are going to keep or we are not going to?' We never not kept one. Not because we don't want to face the issue, but here is our thinking, we just started this last year, our thinking is, we have no conern if this child turns out to be a genius, we are not concerned if this child is slow. What we are concerned about first of all, is that he can fit into the behavior pattern of the school and he is willing to learn. If he is a slow learner, we will work with him. If he is a genius, we will work with him. But,if at the end of a month he has shown us that he is neither willing, I mean not fit into a mold,...we are going to have to make a determination as to what needs to be done with this kid."

Some students do not get the one month probation, not because of any of their own personal characteristics but because the school has to take the students on a first come basis, and there is not enough room for all those that apply

According to the principal,"...I think most Catholic schools operate this way, you reach the point where you just can't take anymore in a certain grade. We cannot take another student in fifth, sixth, seventh or eighth grades. If we had another classroom, we would start filling them up. Right now we have about seven on the waiting list for seventh and eighth grades....the crunch will come at the end of August. They will all start piling in. We already have 168 registered for the year..."

The school gives a few scholarships. In past years, the priest determined who received scholarships based on the principal's recommendation. These awards were made only to active parishioners. The priest estimates that 50 of the 185 students in the school were active parishioners, among them maybe 15 of the 50 were on scholarship. However, this year, the director of religious education and the principal formed a committee to determine scholarships on the basis of need. Unquestionably the single most important leader at St. August is the principal. She clearly emerges as the educational leader and formulator of school policies governing student grade placements, discipline, and evaluation. Grade placements are determined by the principal. When a student enters the school he or she is tested. Depending on the score, the child is placed in a reading class which is appropriate to his or her level. Explaining how this process works, the principal reports, "When you are talking about grade placement,...when a new student comes in to the school, well if he were promoted to third grade in another school, we would keep him in third grade, but he would be tested. And see we have walking reading here. And say he was third grade, but only second grade reading, he would be with the second grade reading groups...But we could have a second grader who is fifth grade reading level, we have had some students here like that."

School discipline polices are established by the principal. In the classrooms, the teachers are the authority, if they have a problem with a child, they are expected to work through the situation with the child. If progress is not made the teacher informs the principal and calls the parents. Once the parents are contacted, and the situation does not improve, the matter is referred to the principal. In cases of suspension, they must be approved by the pastor. What this process does, is place the principal in the role of enforcer, she comments, "...I don't think it is right for a principal to be the bad guy all the time. However, I do realize that when you have to be the bad guy, well it is tough luck, that is part of the job. The teachers and I have a kind of unspoken understanding on this. If it gets to a point that they cannot handle it, and I don't want it to get to a serious point, however, then I think there are several steps that they need to take. One is talk and to try to counsel that child. Talk with the parents. If things don't start to happen at that point, maybe it should be brought to my attention. Maybe it should be brought to my attention at the point when they go to speak to the parents, so that I am aware of what is going on. And, then at that point, then it becomes a teacher and my problem. But I don't want to take responsibility away from her however."

The kind of "toughness" the principal looks for in her teachers is also present in the how she handles difficult behavior problems: "If it were a child who I thought might arrive at suspension, I would give warning. But I have suspended. And very cautiously and very judiciously. Because I think that if you use punishments like that too often then it is just a big mess. But I can remember one instance when I suspended two young men, and it was like the week before Christmas, and both of them left here with such a glazed look in their eyes that you would not believe. Neither one could believe it...See the week before Christmas, when we start the Christmas vacation is a big week here. People come in and give these kids parties galore. Gifts..and these kids knew it and they were heart broken. They went home with this glazed look, and I gave them a day they could back after the Christmas vacation with their parents...We also have the policy that three suspensions mean an automatic out. That actually happened with one student. And he came back, begging for me to take him back...Hovered about the school. Begging me. And it wasn't stubbornness on my part in not taking him back, my heart said hey, take him back, then I said no. Then I thought, no. It is in the policy book. There are certain things that are really hard for me. I really shed tears over it. But I felt that it was in the policy book and there are some things you need to do."

The school has designed a more detailed report card then the ones used by the archdiocesan. Each teacher in the primary grades designed their own reporting system, which was intended to be more specific and realistic, as the principal remarks, "Instead of saying, "grasp math concepts", What does that mean to a parent? I mean, it means nothing. It doesn't mean anything to anybody. We try to be very specific."

Teachers in grade three through eight use a descriptive report card, in which the teacher is expected to write a commentary for every subject. One of the principal's long range goals is to increase contact with the parents concerning their child's progress: "At the end of the first nine weeks, we should have a parent-teacher conferences. I have been thinking about this and now I think that nine weeks is too long. I think we should have an initial parent-teacher conference. Like say, at the end of the third week. Then I think you have a pretty good idea of which way your kids are going, which ones need support and which ones are doing just fine. Parents want to hear good things."

With an exuberant, energetic, and dedicated spirit, the principal of St. August performs her job. From 7:15 in the morning to 5:00 in the afternoon, and weekends, the principal is at the school, "I hate to be away from school...I really do. It's like I'm married to this place." She explains why she works so hard at her job,"...I generally like what I'm doing. I feel the service. I always have, even as a youngster and my mother tells me this, I always had this idea, even before I thought of becoming a nun, I was going to be teacher as far back as I can remember. All my life I was going to be a teacher. It was incredible. So, I think I've always had this idea of wanting to do. When I was a nun I read a little book that really brought this home to me...It was by Albert Schweitzer,...and he said that he never even believed in a god or had any religious ideas. He would have served people, the love of poeple would have been enough to carry him on...I thought, do you know what-that's true. There are people like that and I'm one of them. That I would always be of service. If I won a million dollars today I would still do what I'm doing but I would probably do it without salary...I don't think it's a thing that's great. I just think it's just the way you are and you do meet a lot of people like that, I think." She is committed to the concept of private education because, "I think that private education has many things going for it. On the plus side, I would say the strict discipline and the stability that is built into the system. The students are here to learn and that is their main duty and that is our concern to teach them. I think that is probably the biggest plus and I think it's the plus that makes the difference."

An education that includes values and morals is more important to the principal than providing a Catholic religious program."...We have non-Catholic students and that is a real concern to me. I am not saying that we should proselytize them and make everyone of them a Catholic. I think if they want to become a Catholic that is great...I think it is very important for our non-Catholic children and our Catholic children to see that maybe religion is important. And that there is someone up there. I don't care if you want to call him God or whatever, because I think that every child and every adult needs something to believe. It is that simple as far as I am concerned."

To glorify the dreams and accomplishments of St. August, the principal is planning to hold a walkathon to raise money to get a muralist to work with the children to cover the old, peeling walls of the second floor. These pictures will be a testimonial to the efforts and dedication of the school as it works to fulfill its' goals.

### Summary

St. August is a place for learning social, moral and basic skills. Respect for others, cooperation, and a positive sense of self, are the main values which the school stresses. Ecclesiastical studies focus more on developing an awareness of social injustice, than on religious dogma. The purpose of the religious program is to have the students build a sense of "faith", and social responsibility. Students are exposed to Catholic principles, and history; however, there is no effort on the part of the school to convert the non-Catholic pupils.

Rather than proselytizing, the school is making a concerted effort to make the non-Catholic students more aware of their own religious values and rituals.

The student body of St. August is very racially and ethnically diverse. St. August prides itself on this level of diversity, openly acknowledges differences through special assemblies, celebrations and classroom studies. The school sees itself as a community of nations. Competition or differential treatment among students or teachers is minimized. Black students are not treated differently than any other group. However for all groups, the school includes in its' total education program, opportunities to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity.

Because so many of the parents are immigrants, or working fulltime to support their families, the school takes considerable responsibility for the education of the children. While the school would like the parents to have a greater role in reinforcing the values and goals of the school it is not always possible. For example, language problems often makes it difficult for some parents to be as active as the school desires. Instead of depending on the parents to educate the students, the school see the students performing an educative role for the parents. However, parents are encouraged to participate in school activities, are very supportive of the school, and actively participate in fundraising events.

The school expects the students to go on to Catholic high school and then to college. The curriculum and school policies, e.g., scholarships, student evaluations, discipline, and so on are are designed to fulfill these objectives.

When school personnel were asked to characterize life at St. August these are some of the comments, "busy, hectic, something always going on, friendly, hugging, shaking hands", "place of learning, place to learn to grow, place to learn cooperation among fellow students", and "a very caring school, everyone in the community working to making it good." St. August is more than a school, it is a caring community.

## Monroe

Monroe, located on the northeastern corner of a densely-populated middle to upper-middle income residential area, is very convenient to public transportation. The large, L-shaped, rectangular building is about three long blocks west of a bus stop which is on a route extending from the southeastern Chicago South Shore community to central downtown Chicago. However, Monroe's students typically do not use public transportation to get to school. On any given schoolday, between 8 to 8:30 a.m., private family cars line up onto the narrow north-south street directly in front of Monroe to drop off children. To the west of this street is a large vacant lot which extends back to the street with the bus route. The cars of local residents frequently line the inner perimeters of the lot, particularly when spaces are not available on the street. Other students can be observed walking from the west, or the south, to school. A high-rise apartment building is on the southeastern corner, taking up some of the space south on that block, and all of the space to the west. The remainder of the southern part, as well as the entire block on the southwestern side, consists of a series of six-flat apartment buildings, frequently condominiums, and a series of small, well-kept private homes. Similar three-story apartment buildings line the east-west street running parallel to Monroe's southern-most corner. The oldest part of the Monroe building faces south; it contains a ground level and first floor. The newest part of the building faces east; it contains a first and second floor. The main entrance connects the two parts.

Of course, all residents of the neighboring community know of Monroe. However, looking east past the vacant lot from the distance of the bus route, if children are not entering or leaving, it would not be easy to identify Monroe as a school. The solid brown, with white trimmings, brick ediface of the building blends harmoniously with that of neighboring buildings. The large white-trimmed windows with pastel overlays give a modern, up-beat tempo to the otherwise cozy, traditional ediface. The playground is situated behind the school building, and therefore, is not visible from any street. To the west of the playground is an alley which separates Monroe from the nearby apartment building. Just north and slightly west of the playground is another vacant area which is visible from the bus route and which is also often used by the school as a playlot for the group games and sports of older children. From the distance of the bus route, it would not be immediately apparent that such children were identified with Monroe. They could just as easily have come from other buildings in the area and have found that large, open, grassy area a viable place to play.

Once inside, however, the bustling, energetic, often noisy, sounds of children leaving clothing, lunch, and additional supplies in hallway lockers, and entering their classrooms to be greeted by their teachers leave no doubt that Monroe is a school. The close, even crowded, quarters of the director and staff, located to the right on the first floor, convey an atmosphere of both informality and reserve:

informality because in this office, and throughout the school, people share such close workspace; reserve because there are obvious unwritten norms about the use of space, given what must be accomplished in it by a school responsible to about 126 children, their families, and 20 full-time and part-time faculty and staff.

Preschool and primary grade classrooms are located on the first floor, as is the seventh-eighth grade classroom. The third-fourth and fifth-sixth grade classrooms are located on the second floor, along with a moderate-sized all-purpose room for teachers, and a small kitchen area for making coffee and storing food brought by faculty and staff. The ground floor (semi-basement) area houses arts and crafts facilities and the library, which from time to time may double as a music room, rehearsal room, and dance and exercise room for students. Just off the library, is a small room used for small-group computer classes with students. The ground floor preschool and seventh-eighth grade areas occupy the oldest part of the school, housing the original site of the earlier private school for girls; administrative offices and other classrooms occupy the newer portion of the school, built and opened in the early seventies. Inside Monroe, every available space is used by someone toward some aspect of the educational program at all times during the schoolday.

### School history

Founded in 1962 Monroe school was 21 years old at the time of data collection in this study. It is the youngest of the four study schools. In the early sixties, five families each contributed $1000.00 in seed money to establish a Montessori preschool in the community as an alternative to existing preschools; hired Dutch Montessori teachers from the Netherlands; and recruited 20-25 three-to-six year olds for the class. Initially, the school was housed in a storefront a few blocks away from its current location. After five years, it moved to its present site, a site formerly occupied by a private school for girls. As children aged, primary and middle school classrooms were added. By 1975, the year the present director came, the school offered a course of study from pre-primary through grade 8.

The ideological aspects of Monroe's history are represented somewhat differently by various faculty and current parent leaders. Some themes are recurrent, though all are not mentioned by everyone interviewed, and some are mentioned with different emphases. They include: (a) parental involvement, decision-making, and school governance by consensus; (b) the open classroom with a view of the teacher as facilitator and helper, rather than authority-figure; (c) Montessorian teaching techniques, particularly at the pre-primary grade levels; (d) an emphasis on the whole child in the tradition of Bank Street; and (e) a counter-culture tradition undergoing change toward more mainstream, but free-standing, independent status. From the beginning black students were enrolled in the school. In the sixties, Monroe received Head Start funds, and today Monroe continues to strive for socioeconomic, cultural, and racial diversity among its students. At least one-quarter or more of

Monroe's youthful history is shared by significant numbers of its faculty. Therefore, a variety of perspectives on the implications of the history are available.

The director, faculty, and parent leaders were asked to give background on Monroe's history as a school, to identify traditions and rituals that the school maintains from the past, and to offer reasons as to why these traditions remain. One parent leader comments about the latter: "This is still a parent-run school...Until this year (we had) only parents on the Board...Parents really feel they call the shots. That's why they choose the school in the first place...Parents like to be involved...Few parents are wedded to the (Montessorian) philosophy, but the teachers like it, especially at lower levels...it (i.e., Montessori) continues because parents like what they see..." Another parent leader comments: "...(Monroe began as an) alternative school in the sixties...community people started with a strong commitment to scholarships. (Now) it is no longer an alternative school...more substantial (than that)...now have library, computer programs, after school sports, after school care...(this) reflects the needs of parents...(it is not alternative because) alternative may not be around anymore...no longer flimsy with philosophy...more consistent here than in the alternative schools of the sixties...Traditions (i.e., parental involvement, Montessorian techniques) remain because they are still attractive to people..."

According to one teacher, the traditions remain because: "...the school wouldn't run without these things (e.g., parent involvement)...(the) school would be more bureaucratic, commitment to children would be to class only and not to home also...Teachers learn from parents and parent input is important..." Another teacher elaborated upon the Montessorian tradition as follows: "...greeting children at the door; individually shaking hands...(this is) European and denotes respect...Parents being very involved in school as part of the fact that they own it and that it was integrated...individual teachers run own show in the classroom...a conscious effort on the part of the director to allow autonomy...(the traditions continue) because of philosophy...the school only once had a Montessori-trained director...it (i.e., the school) has favored staff choices leading to flexibility about the staff's Montessori background...(this) leaves the Montessori teacher very free...and in some ways very lost...too much autonomy..." Still another teacher comments about one of Monroe's traditions that is important to her: "There is a commitment to racial integration...(we) want to give students the best education (we) can in a diverse environment. In my own mind there is no question that you can take black kids, put them in another situation...and teach them more...we make lots of choices. I think one choice we make is that kids are going to have a choice in their own education and that means we have less of a say about their education...We make a choice, partly due to the nature of our school, that there is a diverse student body...we are not like a school that tests and only takes the cream of the crop...that means we are providing for a much greater range of needs, which sometimes has to mean that we are not providing the best..."

The current director is very cognizant of the various ideological traditions that form part of Monroe's history, partly because during all of those years she herself has been an active member of the local community, as a student in a major local private university, as a parent to four developing children, and as an educator-administrator in a nearby, competitive private elite school. She has a B.A. in English literature, an M.A. in Educational Administration, and is currently pursuing a Ph.D. in the History of Education. Prior to being chosen director by parents, she voluntarily and personally interviewed every member of the school's faculty. She believes the interviews helped her to propose a practical set of programs and policies to the parent board such that each knew something of what the other could expect during her tenure. Director for eight years as of 1983, she was the fourth director of Monroe in the five years prior to 1975. Commenting on the experiences leading to her appointment, she states: ...painful as it was, it really stood me in very good stead for a couple of years because I had made it absolutely clear what my program was...for example, the preschool teachers were being paid substantially less than the (other) teachers...I just didn't buy it. I didn't buy differences between them and I didn't buy the low salaries they were paid. So obviously, at the next budget time that was my priority...what could they say when I come forth with an equalized schedule...(they) knew this is what I wanted...The early years were pretty stormy...As I learned more about how institutions get started and grow I just think that there are almost definable things that they go through. One is after the first euphoria of the vision and the hard work of getting something going...then the splintering begins to occur...then the power groups begin to come into play, and then it's a time of chaos...it just seems to be almost inevitable...(then) this is a neighborhood in which nothing passes unquestioned...also what people hoped for from it and what it was then just weren't congruent...because of really sloppy admissions...there were children in there who were really troubled. I really spent the first year counseling a lot of kids out...So there was a tremendous amount of parental anxiety and an awful lot of angry people...(partly) the times, there were a lot of angry people out there. You know how any forum for venting your anger in as uncivil way as possible is an opportunity...

Commenting more specifically on the implication of these views for educational experiences of the children prior to her arrival, she continues: ...It's easy to confuse the warmth and sort of caring climate which has always characterized Monroe as a place, therefore, where there are no expectations...But the plain fact is that the open classroom setting requires far more self-discipline and self-motivation (and), in a funny kind of way, control by teachers than the more traditional classroom...we have to sort out and become clearer and clearer about...who does well here even though children's egos could be healed in a place that cares so much about them...if they're going to fail all over again because (they are) in a place where you expect them to function on their own and they can't...my whole goal was to build a strong elementary school. I thought the preschool was in great shape and what we needed to do was build on that...the spring of 1978 we had our first ISACS evaluation, Independent Schools in Central States...I insisted the school join ISACS practically in my first board meeting because I just thought we needed that kind of stimulation and inspiration...I think probably that (first) ISACS evaluation was a watershed as far as board involvement, curriculum development, staff cohesion, and just sort of giving us a program of things to do...The other thing (that) was happening all this time you see...parental expectations were rising, rising, and rising. When you think that in 1968, 70, 72, even when I came, alternative schools somehow had a magical name...too many kids suddenly weren't writing and reading or whatever...What we had to do is learn fast not only to improve ourselves...but slowly adjust to meet parental expectations...When I came there was not a single classroom in which small individual instruction took place. It was all kids working with their own needs alone, all day long. Now...much of the day is spent with the children in some, increasingly formal, small group instruction. Kids learn better that way...I think that where we're at now is...time with the kids, and emphasis on experimental projects, socialization...It is an integrated curriculum, as opposed to departmental...

Educational goals

Interviewees were asked a series of questions about the educational goals of Monroe school. In principle, Monroe has stressed the authority of the child's family in its education to a much greater degree than other schools in this study. Its educational goals deemphasized direct instruction and transmission of subject matter to include attention to individual children's personal-social development, their interests, motivations, and feelings, social and cultural backgrounds, each as related to the learning process. There has been less emphasis upon the kind of adult person the child will become, and more emphasis on the quality of the interpersonal experiences the child has with peers and teachers while developing. However, Monroe parents and faculty are very sensitive to the necessity for high academic standards. Therefore, in the school there is continual, open discussion about how to achieve those objectives which make it unique among its private school competitors, but at the same time establish and maintain academic excellence.

A parent leader states, when asked what are the essential elements of a quality education for children in Monroe: "My views are simple. I thought school was dull. I wanted something for the kids that was challenging. In preschool (at Monroe) kids (were) treated like adults. There were expectations for them...treated with respect. (The) school's attitude towards kids was good. We stay because teachers there are great...My views (are) well-reflected in (the) school. I view it not so much as kids being educated; they are put in an environment where kids educate themselves. Non-directed...Teachers are there to help..." Another comments: "...Fundamentals; to feel good about selves, to tackle (the) world; learn at own rate, whether fast or slow; to be turned on (i.e., to learning), not turned off; encouraged to develop own talents fully...freedom of expression and movement helps push talents..." Another parent leader demonstrates the close congruence between perceptions of the school's goals for students and what that parent personally believes a student needs to know in order to get along in the world. To the former question, the parent states: "...Teach responsibility...ability to think for oneself...self-determination...cooperation..." To the latter question, he states: "How to interact with people; solve problems efficiently; how to be sensitive to people; understand differences in background situations." Earlier, this parent reported: "...Something I value in Monroe is to have socioeconomic as well as racial integration..." At Monroe, many parents work very hard for the school to secure such a learning environment for their children. At the Board level, parents make decisions and set policy affecting all facets of school life. For example, though the faculty admits students, the Board has set tuition rates, and determines who will receive scholarship assistance. Specific implementation of major new decisions as well as standard school operations is accomplished in task-oriented committees and subcommittees. Parents chair and govern all major standing committees of the school. These include: Nominating committee, Executive committee, Membership, Finance, Fund-Raising (Development) and

Scholarship committees, Personnel committee, Educational Policy and Planning committee, Buildings and Grounds, and Long-Range Planning committees. The Board President is the chair of the Executive committee. This committee is responsible for overseeing the others. The President may also appoint the chairs of committees in those situations where officers of the board are not automatic chairs. Upon recommendation by the Nominating committee, Board members are typically elected for three-year terms. All members have specific committee responsibilities. Prior to the first fall Board meeting of each academic year, the Executive committee prepares a slate of prospective officers of the Board for full-Board consideration. On most committees, parent members include both Board and non-Board members. Until recently, most of the committees did not have faculty representation. At the time of the study, faculty were not on the Finance nor Scholarship committees. Faculty may observe at Board meetings, and are officially members of the Faculty Handbook Revision subcommittee (of the Personnel committee), the Budget subcommittee (of Finance), and the Educational Policy and Planning committee. Active Board members devote considerable time to Monroe; the current Board president estimates he volunteers the equivalent of 52 days a year to the school. All parents are expected and encouraged to actively work for the school; the chief function of the Membership committee is to stimulate and sustain such activity, in conjunction with the support and guidance of the Board President. Other, more ordinary forms of parental participation, including biannual parent-teacher conferences, room mothers, attendance and support of children's special events and trips, including camping trips, participation in special fund-raisers (one important one is the annual community area "house tour" sponsored by the Board) and donations, for example, are routinely engaged in by all parents. Parents have been known to spontaneously create ad hoc committees for specific purposes (e.g., raising money for much-needed playground equipment). Standing parent committees meet monthly or bimonthly.

Monroe faculty respect and support extensive parental involvement with the school. They and parent leaders describe relations between parents and teachers as "close" to "very close." One teacher comments about why she likes to teach at Monroe: "...lots of parent involvement...size ideal...well-to-do families--(but) not super-rich--care about education... what you do is very noticed by everybody...(but) Administration (is) not breathing down your back..." Teachers have successfully fought for staff participation on parent-governed committees. Though retaining autonomy in curriculum development, they are especially sensitive to parental desires and expectations. One committee, frequently mentioned by teachers, but never by parent leaders, is the Child Review Action committee (CRAC). It reviews problem children, how to cope with them, and whether or not a child should be asked to leave the school. Issues of student grade placement also may arise in this committee. In support of this committee's work (presumably advisory to the director and the Board), teachers' perceive it as a vehicle for insuring that children's self-discipline and self-control are encouraged to develop and that order is retained in the school. Teacher emphasis on this committee, and the relative absence of parent leader emphasis, suggest that the parent body is not uniformly in agreement as to how much stress on classroom discipline and order should be made in the school's operational educational philosophy. As a group, teachers appear to favor more emphasis than parents, though undoubtedly, some parents are more in agreement with teachers than others.

At least three educational positions, variously held by individual parents and faculty, significanly direct the focus of curriculum at Monroe. Generally, the positions are complementary, but sometimes they do conflict: (a) the Montessori position, (b) the Bank Street position, and (c) the Dewey Progressive Education position. The close relations between parents and faculty inevitably result in an eclectic borrowing from the three positions, thus creating the unique educational program characteristic of Monroe.

Excluding the director, three of the six interviewed faculty had Montessori training. Two of these faculty are black and working at the pre-primary level. The other is white, and teaches the fifth-sixth grade classes. In addition, the white third-fourth grade teacher uses Montessori techniques in her classroom. One of the pre-primary teachers, when asked what she thought the essential elements of a quality education for children at Monroe, comments in the Montessorian tradition: "...orderly, attractive environment...(the) child should feel a warm social atmosphere...close connectedness with family...adult being a resource and help rather than a power...(but) limit-setting...outdoor activity-opportunity (for) large motor development and fine motor...opportunity for experiencing language..." Continuing with how this view of education is reflected in the school, she states: "...Through Montessori and through general tendency to the individual...and the whole child...(there are) problems around the possible tension between the individual child's development and the good of the group. (The) school is constantly reevaluating this issue year after year...(also Montessori is) a specific view of education which lends itself to criticisms of rigidity, noncommunicativeness, out-datedness and elitism. I don't see Montessori as a private school philosophy. Only circumstances led to it being this way in this society..." Later she commented: "...(The) school doesn't want to see itself defined completely as Montessori and looks to the wider community for its place and function...it is an independent school which happens to be Montessori...(Among Montessorians the school is) identified as a maverick...(This) sits well with the Board and administrators..." One of the two pre-primary black teachers traces her involvement with Monroe to when, as an active public school PTA member, she helped to enroll black children in Monroe's Montessori-based Head Start preschool. She learned of Montessori through this experience as a teacher aide, was encouraged by faculty at both Monroe and the local public school to pursue formal training: "...They saw in me what I had not seen. They were very supportive..." As an essential element of quality education this teacher also emphasizes the classroom environment: "...Children learn from other children, from me, and the environment. Environment has to grow. Materials should speak out to the child..."

There are many similarities between the Montessorian position, and the Bank Street "whole child" position. One question which helped to pinpoint differences referred to the types of behavior each teacher likes to see in her classroom. Montessorians respond thusly: ...Children to work well together...I like articulate children; Children choosing thoughtfully an activity around their own desire to do that activity. Children helping, observing each other and teacher, concentrating and completing an activity and replacing material, talking to each other thoughtfully, laughing and on occasion, spontaneously singing and dancing; Work and be respectful of environment, each other, me, ask for help when needed, talk to a purpose, help each other; Understanding of others, self-confident, independent and can ask for help, not teasing, helping each other, concern for others by comforting or leaving alone, helpful and willing to clean up, eager to try things, willing to take on responsibilities... In contrast, two other faculty respond: "...Kids who can talk about their ideas...individuality, independence, cooperation...put special effort, get joy in some...of (the) work...I like kids who talk to me; (Be) involved, interested, enjoy work, manipulate what they read and not be a slave to it, be critical of reading...feel there is no limit to what they can learn, abstract connections from one area to another--something read, something seen... Though both groups are interested in how education can facilitate children's development, the former stresses interpersonal skills and productive work styles, while the latter stresses cognitive development.

Faculty do seem to agree on what school-related learning experiences are least desirable for children. Included are experiencs where children (a) see no purpose to the assigned work; (b) have tightly, teacher-controlled, directed and motivated classes; (c) receive seatwork and related workbook activities that are highly regimented and subject to mechanical repitition (As one teacher commented: "Everybody doing the same thing at the same time."); (d) learn about subject-matter and use materials out-dated in contemporary educational circles; and (e) attend classes where peers and teachers are not respected, and where there are no discipline and controls in the classroom.

One faculty member spoke of the school in terms reminiscent of its historical origins as an alternative preschool. After speaking of the necessity for high standards, for everyone to respect children, she continues: ...the children are trained to make choices and think for themselves and to not be unquestioning in the accepting of authority...I think we need to work more on issues. To be more political...I guess I don't quite fall into that underlying assumption that teachers have to be objective and I am not interested (in) being objective about war, rape, sexism or any of those things, and I am not going to be, so I would like to see some of these things dealt with more openly in school. It is done better at Monroe than it is at other schools, but not enough. When I first came...I couldn't believe that this school which was openly committed to integration had no black studies...I am saying two things, that the content of the school can be more exciting...(and) that children do too much stuff individually still in the school...individualization, which is a good thing in a certain way, I guess, (but) our society does not need more individuals...I think kids need to work together and talk together and...learn how to sacrifice for the good of other people and I don't think I see enough of it happening in our society...in our school...that is a pedagogic concern that I have in the school as a whole...and only at Monroe could you even have such a concern because Monroe is already so far along the line of being a good place that you can consider it to be better...(here) Children are listened to and their concerns are always taken into account when determining the shaping of school policy from the small to the big things. We have talks about what we are going to allow in terms of snowball fights. The kids have influence...

Finally, when asked for her views of the essential elements of a quality education for Monroe children, the director first gave an extended, broad overview of academics to be covered. Subjects ranged from fundamentals to science and computors, social sciences, and the humanities. She continued with an emphasis on the child's personal-social development, concluding: ...All school philosophies...read alike...but I think we put a lot of flesh on those bones. I should add...that we feel (it is) very important to introduce our children to non-western cultures as well as western thought and society...Fundamentally, we believe that the kid who comes in at three and the child who leaves at thirteen should have had a coherent experience...We try...as far as teachers are concerned...to give enough guidelines of what should be covered over time and appropriate times to cover it without boxing people into a locked curriculum. That's no mean feat...(for example) we've been wrestling with science lately...our one store-bought curriculum...(it) does allow for a lot of teacher flexibility but...all those units and how you teach those, particularly in two-year age cycles...and still allow for teacher flexibility for teachers to put in things that they want to that merely rise from (the) children's interests or what (the guide) doesn't include and not feel that everybody is put into chains and manacles...One very important part of our curriculum...our focus...on what the wider world has to offer. We make heavy use of resources of the city and the outdoors. Every child from third grade on up goes on two camping expeditions a year, fall and spring, and throughout the year, even in our preschool, and certainly from first grade on, goes to the symphony, the opera, the museums...the (express bus route) is right there. Depending on where they are in the year and the curriculum, the Field Museam, the Planatarium, the Art Institute and the Museam of Science and Industry are all...accessible...We require that our pre-primary teachers be Montessori-trained...What we look for in our elementary teachers...essentially are skilled open classroom teachers...inheritors of the traditions of the open classrooms of the sixties and seventies which derived from the British primary schools...

With some exceptions, Monroe faculty perceive the educational role of the child's home in terms very similar to those of faculty at other study schools. However, Monroe parents are also likely to be perceived as teachers, as well as nurturers and supporters, of children, a view that more Monroe parents, in comparison with parents at other schools, are likely to hold of themselves (see chapter 8). More striking is that even post-primary grade teachers may describe themselves as doing a lot of parenting. Describing the overlapping roles of teachers and parents, one teacher comments: "...I find myself doing lots of mothering...(The home) is very important in things like attitude--I used to think I was doing all the work (i.e., when she taught at another school). When things like manners, etc. (are) lacking, it becomes my job..."

The director's view of teaching and parenting also is highly flexible and closely tied to the developmental level of the child: "...I see the teacher's job as presenting the material...the expectations, insisting on the completion of work and the observing of assignment deadlines...(but) it varies from class to class. On the preschool level, the teacher is to create an environment in which the student can function. To make that a warm and welcoming place and to insure that the students are indeed functioning in an academic setting..." However, she does not believe that the parent should teach its child a new skill, primarily because:

...teaching requires a certain objectivity...A child more than anything else, wants to please his parents...then the child is not learning to learn what he himself requires, but learning to please his parents, and if for some reasons, the parent isn't doing it well, and the kid isn't doing it well, the complications...can turn the kid off or terrify him in a way that a school finds it very hard to pick up the pieces...I don't think it's the parent's responsibility unless the teacher agrees that it is...to help the kid with his homework. (Just to) make sure that the assignment is done...

Many faculty also stressed the importance of parental trust in the school, in teachers' ability to extend children's worlds by leading them into new experiences. When asked what she perceived the role of the home to be in children's education, the director commented:...First of all, to show that it (i.e., education) is valued for the kid, not for the parent...parents whose needs must be met by the kid going to Harvard, by being valedictorian, by being the best, are going to end up with a wreck on their hands, or a twenty-year-old drop out. The message that we just have to emphasize over and over, and in a classroom like this where if a child is not motivated in his classroom he is going to fail here, the education belongs to the child. This is the first obligation of the parents. You cannot impose your values, your aspirations on your child...Secondly, to create in the home environment a climate where learning is valued. Where parents are learners...parents come in and say, "Why isn't my kid reading at three or four?...at all? I've taught him his numbers,...his letters..." Well, sometimes these kids come from families in which no reading is done by anybody. Why should the kid value reading when the whole family sits around with glazed eyes in front of the boob tube...and I think...they must let the kids be. Now that doesn't mean neglect them, or give them too much autonomy...But some of our parents say, "Yes we want a Montessori education, yes, we want him to be independent and show initiative," and then they tell them what to wear in the morning, and how to polish their shoes, and what to eat for breakfast...and they run their lives like a Prussian regime. We've gotten applications in (in which) we ask what do you want from your child and they say we want an education that will prepare him for Harvard and where he is going to be a doctor...well, children have their own interests and have their own lives and those must be respected and listened to and not imposed upon...

Two faculty members stress the importance of a child-centered perspective when discussing the home environments of black students. When asked whether these children have any special problems in school because they are black Americans, one comments: "...tendency for black parents to be anxious about academic achievement and visible progress. Whatever that attitude is, the ethnic historical attitude of blacks about academic achievement and the personal past of the child must be dealt with by the child. White children have these factors to deal with also, but their ethnic history is different, so the content is different also..." The other raised the same issue when asked whether she felt her students' parents shared her values: "Yes, generally. Parents and teachers...work together and support each other. Parents want to know what works...Black students' parents are conscious of fact that their child has to do very well to succeed. I have felt that there is a difference when talking to black parents--a different value system..." Similarly, in discussing the impact of the black child's home environment, the director states: "The home environment is important to all children...if I have concerns about the minority upper middle class child or aspiring child it is that so much must be done so fast in order to catch up with society that there is less tolerance (by parents) for the process of learning and educating...perhaps too much emphasis on the superficials like the letters, the ability to read, without (an equal emphasis on) what does it mean to read, what does it mean to learn and understand..."

Faculty and parent leaders emphasize that black children's home environments should be places where children learn about black history and develop pride in their heritage, where high standards are held, and positive black role models presented. Black children should also be exposed to situations in which they are treated as positively as other children. Most think including more black history as part of the history received by all children is important and beneficial to all children. One teacher states they have to further enrich the library, and that they have deliberately removed books with "racial slurs."

She reports that there is not enough good curriculum available on Africa.

Another teacher expressed concern that some black children at Monroe have difficulty identifying with the experiences of black children in books like Alice Childress' A hero ain't nothing but a sandwich because those experiences are so different from their own. She concludes: "If I were a black parent, I would teach this (i.e., about these social realities) at home." This teacher also observes, as does one other, how the "Black English" of the middle class children can interfere with their reading and language. In one instance, it was difficult to work with a child whose community dialect interferred with spelling because the child became emotionally upset when counselled about the learning problem. The teacher felt that the child thought she was attacking its image of itself, rather than introducing the idea that the child could have at least two ways of using and manipulating English, one school-related and one community-related. The family did not work with the teacher in this instance. The experience of this teacher suggests that both socioeconomic status, and perceptions of class status, as mediated by the family, interact in complex ways to affect a given black child's ability to learn about itself, and about other black people.

Faculty and parent leaders are in unanimous agreement that an ethnically and racially integrated school is beneficial for all children, and that Monroe should exploit the opportunity to expose its children to the contributions of different peoples to America and to the world. One white teacher whose child attended Monroe states: "...I thought it was very important for my child to have an early experience with an authority figure who is black..." The director also has a view which elaborates benefits to nonblack chldren. When asked what effect does attending an ethnically more diverse school have on the quality of education, she comments:...To the extent that education means what your life is all about, your understandings, your awareness, your sympathy, an enormous amount...We brought up four children here (i.e., in the racially integrated community to which the school belongs)...we did so in spite of the high cost of private education and frequent loss of bicycles and pennies (so) we would not live in a lily-white suburb. And I just feel that preparing your children for the world to come, I don't mean heaven, I mean the place they are going to live in...the only way you are going to have racial equality is if you have people who are going to live together. Work together. To find out the rotten people as well as the good. I think it is very easy for people living out...to idealize the racial relations. They don't have to deal with naughty people as well as nice people every day. I want my children to particularize...(also) if you grow up in a lily-white world...which tends to emphasize the history of the Western world, you are going to leave out a lot of very important history...In addition to racial understanding, if we don't start getting some global understanding going, what is the point of educating all these children, if they are all going to be cinders?...

The three parent leaders generally echo the sentiments of faculty. With regard to certain aspects of curriculum, however, one felt: "...(The) emphasis on black is overdone...(they) bend over backwards...No exposure to white's culture, history...(but we) would rather have (our child) there than in some rich, snotty suburb..." A second leader felt the emphasis appropriate for supporting the black child's esteem as a black person because, unlike for white children, the general society is less prone to be supportive. However, the third parent leader preferred leaving discussion of black and minority issues in school curriculum to others because: "...I'm not a minority so I don't think about these things...I have no objection to it being done in the school...and it is being done at Monroe...we don't object to black history..." Earlier, this parent had commented: "When choosing the school I was impressed with (the) social diversity of (the) school...percentage of minority people high. We try to maintain diversity by giving scholarships...Works like public schools should work in terms of integration..."

Contrasting the black and white parents at Monroe, the director states: ...By and large, the white parents who come here are people with options...and they are pretty confident and secure that their kids are going to make it...And have indeed chosen a somewhat idiosyncratic path...for whatever reason. Our black parents who come here haven't had those advantages. And, they are not so sure. They know what a struggle it was for them (and) there aren't very many Harvard graduates among them...by golly, they want to be sure that their kids...not only to the extent success can be assured, but they surely don't want anything to be a roadblock. And a school that doesn't teach reading well and doesn't send the kids on to quality schools is not a school they want to see their kids in. And I don't blame them. So, in fact, I would say, that probably the process you are talking about (is) of mutual accomodation of the school to social pressures...

Later, when asked whether she believed Monroe is an ethnically and racially integrated school, she responded: "...Not as much as it should be. I don't know what more we can do. Our board is underrepresented by blacks. Our faculty is underrepresented by blacks...I feel the children group together sometimes by color. How much of this we could do something about and how much of this is inherent in the society right now, I am not sure...I certainly think we do a better job than other schools. But that doesn't mean we should rest on our laurels..."

The long-range aspirations for all Monroe children are intricably tied, however, to the school's philosophy. On one hand there is no explicit consensus about specific long-range goals for children. Projections are typicaly made only as far as successful transition to a traditional high school experience. Preparations for the transition begin in grades seven-eight where students first receive letter grades, and may take some courses at a local public high school. On the other hand, there are many implicit assumptions about the positive benefits of immersing socially diverse children in a cooperative, open learning environment during the highly-vulnerable, flexible first decade or so of their lives. Teachers were asked about the personal qualities they wished to see developed in their students. Aside from self-confidence, an appreciation of who others are, and how to live harmoniously with them, there was repeated emphasis on the child's recognition of the fun in learning, how it is possible to like to work, and for the child to gradually develop a love of learning. The love of learning should extend to both human and nonhuman environments. The director's vision of expanding the "learning environment" to a new building including elements of the larger community is a natural outgrowth of this philosophy, as are her willingness to consider experimenting with the effects of having the school operative all year with two-week vacations staggered throughout, and her concern for accomodating computor technology to the learning styles of children ("Nobody knows if it will be better for some kids to tackle the computor more slowly, more gradually...on one hand five days a week is too much, but one day is not enough..."). The following comments at the very end of her interview echo the preferences of the faculty: "...I want to have...a garden...joy...and I just think it is very important. Children and life, it is so easy for it to become anxious and anxiety-ridden and boxed-in. And you see adults who are joyless and...I would like the environment here for both the adults and the children, to be fun. To be imaginative and spontaneous...if people could be freer...The joy of discovery that is very exciting--there should be more of that..."

Achieving goals

Monroe primarily uses three strategies to achieve its educational goals: (a) contracting with prospective parents who are willing to pledge to expend the personal effort and time involved in having their child(ren) in a parent-governed school; (b) establishing formal and informal "forums" for governance by consensus between director, assistant director, faculty, and staff, and often even faculty and students, in daily school operations, as well as generally among parents and faculty; and (c) identifying and supporting high-quality teachers with commitment to a child-centered approach to teaching and learning and experience in open education.

Commitment from parents is extracted, and the likelihood of the family's follow-through on the commitment evaluated, during the admissions process. A faculty member, recently promoted to assistant director, devotes 40% of her time to admissions of new students (During the other 60% of her time she handles class scheduling and placement, arranges for teacher substitutes, teaches social studies and language arts to the seventh-eighth grade class, handles summer school registration, and serves as faculty representative to the Educational Policy and Planning committee). Activities associated with admissions include presentations at annual local school fairs, and informal conversations with prospective applicants. Transfer applicants are administered reading (Gates-McGintie) and mathematics (Iowa) tests, and must submit other-school records, including teacher recommendations.

However, the greatest emphasis at Monore is with the child and parent interviews. Prospective classroom teachers are responsible for observing and interviewing children who, after grade two, may be observed for as much as a full day in an appropriate Monroe classroom. Typically the assistant director interviews parents, both to learn about the family, and to share what Monroe is like.

Once admissions information is gathered, usually by the spring of each year, a staffing is conducted and, because of special problems in the past, particular attention is devoted to excluding children who are likely to be behavior problems in the open setting. The admissions process is also designed to give the child and its parents enough of a feel of the school for them to voluntarily exclude themselves from further consideration. However, according to the assistant director, test scores are never the basis of child acceptance or rejection, partly because many at Monroe, including herself, consider tests biased and at best useful only for diagnostic purposes. The best predictors of success at Monroe are successful child and parent interviews. The least reliable predictors are prior school grades and test scores. No attempt is made to select children on the basis of competitive grouping. Children are accepted until there are no further places in the class, with every effort being made to balance a class for sex and race. Children of faculty and children with siblings already enrolled receive priority. The assistant director estimates the refusal rate to be 1 in 20.

The sole criterion for scholarships, allocated for distribution by the parent-governed Scholarship committee, is financial need. It is particularly important to parents that scholarships be used to maximize socioeconomic diversity in the school, as they feel such diversity is beneficial for the learning environments of all the children. No member of the faculty, including the assistant director, meets with the Scholarship committee for this purpose, nor receives information about financial aid to specific students. Every parent of a child currently enrolled in Monroe is a voting member of the Monroe School Society, further affirming that, as far as school governance, the school is parent-owned. When asked to describe the range of interests and abilities in the student population, the assistant director comments: "...They range from below average to superior ability--we have a seriously handicapped child in the school--mentally and physically handicapped--very broad...(The school accomodates) a lot (of academic and social diversity)...We seek social diversity--Tuition prevents certain people from coming--can't really accomodate an emotionally retarded child...by and large a middle class school (but) an awful lot of kids whose parents can just afford to send them..." Virtually all interviewed faculty, including the director, agree that the open learning environment of the school is a particularly difficult one for a child who is extremely insecure or has serious behavior control problems. Other children, for example, children with learning disabilities, can frequently be accomodated. The director comments on her perceptions of the parents of this diverse student body: ...I would say for great numbers of parents and teachers there is a very close relationship. At particularly the preschool level...and at the seventh and eighth grade level...It is an uncertain thing being the parent of a preschooler and it is certainly an uncertain thing when you have an adolescent and our teachers at both these levels are particularly sympathetic to the problems of (those) age levels...at the worst it's close. I think parents get the message right from the day the children walk into the school that this is a place where we really care about them and that it is hard being a parent and that we have to work together...it is certainly clear on the contract, the parent agreement form they sign, it says I understand Monore requires the help and efforts of its parents and I agree to participate. And on the original application form it says Monroe needs the interests and efforts of all its parents. Are you willing? No one ever says no, of course, although we did have a parent this spring who decided not to take a place offered to them because they just felt the message so heavy that they thought they couldn't do it...Some people we have to practically entrap to help, but they are really the minority...

Monroe parents and faculty highly value the school's decentralized governance structure. There is virtually unanimous sentiment that because of its particular location in a neighborhood with families who have considerable investment in formal educational issues, small size, frequent informal social as well as task-oriented gatherings, and shared sense of "principled" (a word used by one teacher in describing the kind of school Monroe is to her) mission, that Monroe school has a strong, resilient sense of community. Every faculty member interviewed could point to perceived recent significant curriculum innovations to benefit the school's children that she personally had initiated. Every faculty member felt supported by the director. Parent leaders pointed pridefully to specific things they had done, and were currently doing, with and for Monroe. Faculty and parent leaders could point to the strengths and weakness of the director and, usually, also how the weaknesses are being offset by other factors in the school's social system. All perceived high levels of parent, faculty, and Board support for the director who, since she is not the faculty representative to the Board, describes her role at Board meetings as follows: "...Well, sometimes the target. I'd see me as the, I hate the word, interface. I'm everybody's advocate. There are times when I have to explain the Board to the faculty, there are times when I explain the faculty to the Board. There are times when I have to explain the program to everybody..." Later, when asked to decribe the ideal principal, she stated: "...I would say it depends on the school. What kind of institution do you want? I suspect there are a lot of people who are far more efficient than I and are better at business affairs than I. I think what Monroe needs is me...someone who can deal with ambiguities, tread fine lines, understand the messy participatory process and work within it...(the person) has to be a good listener. And really care about the people for whom he has responsibility..."

The director regularly attends many evening committee meetings with parents. However, when discussing and describing her extensive involvement with some of the parent-governed committees, she comments about the established, long-range priorities for her own role: "...The Finance committee is the Board committee that really overseas probably more than most schools the progress or non-progress of the budget, tuition collection, tuition collection policies, how we (are) audited, all of the financial affairs which is wonderful because again in my very first statement, I made it very clear that my heart lies with curriculum, children, educational issues, organizational issues, and not finances..."

Describing the kind of teacher she likes, the director comments "...one who excites children, provides them with things to think about and learn, and at the same time, listens to them and learns from them. And tailors the learning experience to them..." She seeks to hire: "...A non-judgmental, only secure people are non-judgmental. People who are fearful are judgmental. And people who are judgmental are rotten teachers. And rotten colleagues. Because they cannot listen to either their children or their colleagues...the quality of being able to both give and take in dialogue with anybody. Although it would be tempting to say that there are good teachers who are not good colleagues, in the end I think there aren't many people (like that)..." At another point she states: "...when an opening is known...you form a little committee made up of teachers and personnel committee members and you interview all the possible candidates. And then make a recommendation...to me and I make a recommendation to the Board. I would never fly in the face of--I would never hire somebody that the faculty didn't want...somebody the faculty, as the result of a group interview, had profound doubts about...Our process is such that we talk and we talk until, you know, it's the good old Quaker approach..."

### Summary

Monroe, as a contemporary independent school, has a unique heritage and mission. It began as a parent-governed, alternative Montessori preschool in 1962 and, as of 1983, had sustained itself as a result of the dedicated support of parents, the community in which it resides, and its faculty. Even today it is unusual in America as an open-education, child-centered, multi-racial (50% black), independent school. From the beginning, black students were enrolled at Monroe which, as a school, now extends from pre-primary through grade 8. From the beginning, parents and faculty have sustained a commitment to have as much socioeconomic diversity as possible in the school student body, fully aware that modifications in admissions procedures, curriculum, and organization would be necessary to sustain such an effort. Faculty continue to attempt to be responsive to the changing needs and expectations of parents and the children they willingly serve. The personal and professional esteem sustained by faculty, as a result of their successful commitment to this unique educational community, seems very high indeed.

# Chapter 10

## Children's Achievement and Self Concepts

### Introduction

Selection of each of the four schools in this study was determined in part by the school's reputed academic standards which were locally perceived as higher than typical school standards. During interviews with parents, school administrators, and teachers, it was found that the four schools hold high standards and are interested in the self concept development of their students. In previous chapters, the focus has been on how these goals are defined and shared among the schools' black and non-black parents, administrators, and teachers. This chapter presents achievement and self concept data which are support of the schools' assertions.

Results are presented in three areas: academic achievement, self concept, and peer status. Analyses were first conducted to examine the effects of school and race on the measures of variables in these areas. Secondary analyses were performed on specific measures of variables found in this and previous research to be influenced by grade and sex. Correlation matrices were generated to determine support for convergent-discriminant validation of all measures (Campbell & Fiske, 1959).

## Academic Achievement Results

As described in chapter 6, academic achievement test scores were obtained from the four schools for selected students in fifth through eighth grades for the 1982-83 academic year. At Monroe, Oak Lawn and St. August test scores were obtained for nearly all students currently enrolled in these grades as a result of the schools' permission. At Roman only a small number of test scores for each grade were obtained because individual parent permission was required.

The schools used different achievement tests (Monroe and St. August used the Iowa Test of Basic Skills, while Oak Lawn and Roman used the Stanford Achievement Test.). Consequently, the test scores were converted into stanines (1.0-9.0; 5.0 is average) so they could be compared across schools and grades. The reading achievement score was taken from the subtest on both the Iowa and Stanford Tests which measured comprehension, while the mathematics achievement score was taken from the subtest on both tests which measured computation.

### School effects

A two-way analysis of variance test in which the dependent measures were reading and mathematics test score performance x school (Monroe, Roman, Oak Lawn and St. August) x race (black and nonblack) revealed significant school effects (see Table 10-1). For reading comprehension, $F(3,198) = 26.78$, $p < .001$, and for mathematics, $F(3,201) = 13.63$, $p < .001$.

Table 10-1

Mean Academic Achievement Results

| Factor | School | M | SD | n | F | Race | M | SD | n | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Reading Comprehension $N$=199 | Monroe | 6.39 | 1.7 | 28 | 26.78** | Black | 5.90 | 1.7 | 88 | 8.30* |
| | Roman | 6.71 | 1.6 | 21 | | Nonblack | 6.66 | 1.9 | 111 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 7.05 | 1.6 | 103 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 4.51 | 1.6 | 47 | | | | | | |
| Mathematics Computation $N$=202 | Monroe | 5.25 | 1.6 | 28 | 13.63** | Black | 6.31 | 1.8 | 88 | 0.91 |
| | Roman | 6.95 | 1.4 | 21 | | Nonblack | 6.72 | 1.6 | 114 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 7.09 | 1.5 | 106 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 5.87 | 1.8 | 47 | | | | | | |

*$p$=.01
**$p$=.001

Oak Lawn has the highest average stanine in reading and mathematics followed by Roman. Monroe has the third highest reading stanine and the lowest mathematics stanine. Although the St. August reading stanine is slightly below average, the scores are still higher than local test scores. For example, the nearby public school stanine for the reading achievement of students in comparable grade levels is 2.0. As for mathematics the stanine is appreciably higher than reading ($M = 5.87$). One reason for the lower reading score may be the result of the school's large immigrant student population. The families of many of these students do not speak English at home.

Race effects

With respect to race, there were significant effects for reading $F(1,198) = 8.30$, $p < .01$ but not for mathematics. Black-white differences in average reading achievement have been found in many educational studies (most of the nonblack students in these schools are white Americans). It should be emphasized that in these schools, the typical black student's test scores in reading and mathematics are above average when comparing them to students in grades 5 through 8 locally and nationally.

Sex effects

A two-way analysis of variance test in which the dependent measure was reading achievement x race (black, nonblack) x sex (girls, boys) revealed significant main effects, $F(2,198) = 6.29$, $p < .002$, race effects $F(1,198) = 7.39$, $p < .01$ and sex effects $F(1,198) = 4.59$, $p < .03$. Girls have reading test scores which are significantly lower than boys. These results are surprising as girls tend to score higher than males on reading tests in these grades (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). Though interactions are not significant, black females have the lowest of all reading scores.

These unexpected findings prompted further exploration of sex effects by school for both reading and mathematics achievement. A two-way analysis of variance test in which the dependent measures were reading and mathematics achievement x school (Monroe, Roman, Oak Lawn, and St. August) x sex (girls, boys) revealed significant main effects for reading, $\underline{F}(4,198)=20.11$, $p<.001$, and mathematics, $\underline{F}(4,201)=10.61$, $p<.001$ but no significant sex effects. In school observations (see chapters 11-14) particular attention was given to the differential experiences of boys and girls.

## Self Concept Results

Achievement test data refer to spring, 1983 prior to school observations. Self concept and peer status data were collected in spring, 1984, at the end of school observations. Results of the self concept data are discussed for each of the measures administered, with attention first to school, then to race effects.

### School effects: Harter's Perceived Competence Scales

Table 10-2 presents the results of the six Harter self concept scales administered to fifth to eighth grade children

Insert Table 10-2

Table 10-2

Mean Self Concepts of Black and Nonblack Students in Four Private Urban Elementary Schools

| Factor | School | M | SD | n | F | Race | M | SD | n | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Perceived Cognitive Competence[a] N=183 | Monroe | 3.00 | .57 | 36 | 0.65 | Black | 3.00 | .64 | 80 | 0.37 |
| | Roman | 3.07 | .72 | 9 | | Nonblack | 2.95 | .65 | 103 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 3.00 | .64 | 95 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 2.85 | .71 | 43 | | | | | | |
| 2. Perceived Social Competence N=183 | Monroe | 3.02 | .68 | 36 | 0.34 | Black | 3.15 | .66 | 80 | 5.09* |
| | Roman | 3.22 | .86 | 9 | | Nonblack | 2.93 | .64 | 103 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 2.99 | .63 | 95 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 3.05 | .67 | 43 | | | | | | |
| 3. Perceived Athletic Competence N=183 | Monroe | 2.67 | .79 | 36 | 5.72** | Black | 2.86 | .81 | 80 | 0.90 |
| | Roman | 3.10 | .95 | 9 | | Nonblack | 2.81 | .73 | 103 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 3.01 | .69 | 95 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 2.52 | .74 | 43 | | | | | | |
| 4. Perceived Body Appearance N=183 | Monroe | 2.88 | .81 | 36 | 0.56 | Black | 2.92 | .90 | 80 | 4.34* |
| | Roman | 3.03 | 1.15 | 9 | | Nonblack | 2.67 | .70 | 103 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 2.77 | .77 | 95 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 2.68 | .78 | 43 | | | | | | |
| 5. Perceived General Conduct N=183 | Monroe | 3.03 | .51 | 36 | 1.77 | Black | 2.87 | .58 | 80 | 1.98 |
| | Roman | 3.20 | .35 | 9 | | Nonblack | 2.97 | .52 | 103 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 2.91 | .57 | 95 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 2.83 | .55 | 43 | | | | | | |

Table 10-2 (cont.)

| Factor | School | M | SD | n | F | Race | M | SD | n | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 6. Self Esteem N=183 | Monroe | 3.01 | .58 | 36 | 1.37 | Black | 3.08 | .64 | 80 | 1.02 |
| | Roman | 3.43 | .78 | 9 | | Nonblack | 2.99 | .63 | 103 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 2.99 | .61 | 95 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 3.05 | .69 | 43 | | | | | | |
| 7. Students' Academic Evaluation[b] N=183 | Monroe | 3.86 | .84 | 36 | 0.99 | Black | 3.76 | .94 | 76 | 0.34 |
| | Roman | 3.85 | .80 | 9 | | Nonblack | 3.83 | .90 | 109 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 3.87 | .96 | 95 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 3.60 | .89 | 43 | | | | | | |
| 8. Personal Self Description[c] (Black students only) N=78 | Monroe | 2.20 | .77 | 20 | 1.59 | | | | | |
| | Roman | 2.00 | 1.00 | 5 | | | | | | |
| | Oak Lawn | 2.15 | .67 | 33 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 2.55 | .69 | 20 | | | | | | |

[a] Variables 1-6 were measured using Susan Harter's (University of Denver) Measure of Perceived Competence and Self Esteem. Each subscale has 6 items; scores range from 1.0 (low) - 4.0.

[b] Student ranked self academically by comparison to classmates on a 1 (low) - 5 scale.

[c] Each black student was scored from 1 (low) - 3 for whether own race (3) or any racial features (2) mentioned in a description of how someone would have to look and act to take his/her place if he/she were to disappear. One (1) was scored for no racial mention.

*$p < .05$

**$p = .001$

attending the four schools. Results indicate no school differences in children's perceptions of their cognitive and social competence. There are also no school differences in perceived body appearance, general conduct, and self esteem. Children at all four schools are equally likely to see themselves as good at their schoolwork, to make and have friends easily, to be satisfied with how they look and with how they behave, and to be generally happy with themselves as persons. However, children at Oak Lawn are significantly more likely to perceive themselves better at games and sports than children at Monroe and St. August. The *t*-value for Oak Lawn versus Monroe is *t*(129)=2.41, *p*=.02, and the *t*-value for Oak Lawn versus St. August is *t*(136)=3.81, *p*=.00.

Results on the Harter scales for children in the four schools compare favorably with norms on this instrument. Mean scores on the normative sample of 748 sixth-seventh grade children ranged from a low of 2.54 to a high of 3.20. Means across schools and races in this study of 183 fifth-eighth graders range from a low of 2.52 to a high of 3.22. For the total group (*N*=183), means for Cognitive Competence, Social Competence, Athletic Competence, Perceived Body Appearance, Perceived General Conduct, and Self Esteem on the Harter self concept measure are, respectively 2.97 (*SD*=.64), 3.02(*SD*=.66), 2.83(*SD*=.76), 2.77(*SD*=.80), 2.93 (*SD*=.55), and 3.03 (*SD*=.64) on 1.0 (low) to 4.0 scales.

### Race effects: Harter's Perceived Competence scales

Results of two-way analyses of variance, using school and race as independent factors, in Table 10-2 indicate no racial differences in children's perceptions of cognitive competence, athletic competence, general conduct, or self esteem. However, black children are significantly more likely to perceive themselves as socially competent, and to report satisfaction with their own physical appearance.

### School and race effects: Self-Evaluation of academic rank

Other data obtained from students support the view that the average student at all schools perceives himself/herself to be academically above average in comparison with same-grade peers (Self Eva). The overall average rating is 3.8(*SD*=.91) on a scale of 1(low)-5. In this regard, there are no racial differences.

### School effects: Black self-descriptions

Each black student was scored from 1(low)-3 for whether own race (3 points) or any racial features (2 points) were mentioned in the student's description of how someone would have to look and act to replace him/her at school if he/she were to disappear (Self in Tables 10-2, 10-7). One point was scored for no racial mention.

Results indicate that of 78 responding black students, 13 (16.7%) specifically mentioned being black, 32 (41%)

made some reference to "racial" features (e.g., hair texture, skin color), while 33 (42.3%) made no reference to being black. Table 10-2 indicates no significant school differences were obtained. However, students at St. August and Monroe rank highest in the tendency to perceive that others notice that they are black.

### Grade effects: self concept measures

No interactions were significant for any of the preceding self concept measures. Two-way analyses of variance, using grade and race as independent factors, were performed on each of the self-concept measures. No significant interactions or main effects for grade level were obtained for any of the measures except Athletic Competence. Interactions are significant for this variable, $F(3,182)=2.71$, $p=.04$.

## Peer Status Results

An important aspect of self concept is not only how the individual perceives the self, but also how significant others perceive that individual. In this study, middle school peers are identified as significant others. Accordingly, each student's peer nominations were tabulated and then ranked in three areas.

To obtain these ranks, each child was requested to give three nominations in response to three probes. The first probe requested the child name three kids it likes to study with, the second to name three kids it likes to be with, and the third to name three kids who can get it to do things. The child's responses were restricted to children in its class (Monroe and St. August combine 5-6th and 7-8th grade classes) or grade level. Each child's peer rank or score was the number of nominations over the class size (Monroe, St. August) or grade level (Oak Lawn, Roman), given that 33% or better of the class or grade was represented in the sample. The child's score was then multiplied by 100. Inspection of the frequency distributions for each variable resulted in reclassification of the data into a six-point scale. On the six-point scale, 1 = No Mention; 2 = Low Mention; 3 = Average Mention; 4 = Above Average Mention; 5 = Very High Mention; and 6 = Highest Mention.

Table 10-3 presents the frequency distributions for each of the peer status variables. The data indicate children were distinguishing between the three types of ratings. Fewer children were given higher ratings in the PBe With and PInfl categories. Children in the No Mention category are not necessarily isolated children. These children simply were not cited by the group of responding children although they were present when school observations were conducted in the 83-84 year, and were part of the master sample of fifth-eighth graders.

Insert Table 10-3

Table 10-3

Frequency Distributions of Peer Status Variables
N=226

| Variable | I Like to Study With | I Like To Be With | Can Influence Me |
|---|---|---|---|
| | (PStudy) | (PBeWith) | (PInfl) |
| Rank | %<br>(n) | %<br>(n) | %<br>(n) |
| Highest Mention | 4.4<br>(10) | 2.7<br>(6) | 2.2<br>(5) |
| Very High Mention | 19.9<br>(45) | 17.7<br>(40) | 19.5<br>(44) |
| Above Average Mention | 16.4<br>(37) | 19.9<br>(45) | 18.1<br>(41) |
| Average Mention | 19.0<br>(43) | 20.4<br>(46) | 17.3<br>(39) |
| Low Mention | 15.5<br>(35) | 10.2<br>(23) | 6.2<br>(14) |
| No Mention | 24.8<br>(56) | 29.2<br>(66) | 36.7<br>(83) |

Note: Each child gave 3 nominations in each category. Each child's score is the number of nominations over the class size or grade level (multiplied by 100) so long as 33% or better of the class or grade was represented. Obtained scores were ranked on a six-point scale from 1 (low) to high, based on total distributions for each peer status measure.

## Race effects: Peer status results

Table 10-4 presents the results of peer status rankings

Table 10-4

Mean Peer Status of Black and Nonblack Students in
Four Private Urban Elementary School
N=226

| Factor | School | M | SD | n | F | Race | M | SD | n | F |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. I Like to Study With | Monroe | 3.97 | 1.54 | 36 | 7.23* | Black | 3.21 | 1.59 | 99 | 0.30 |
| | Roman | 2.21 | 1.39 | 33 | | Nonblack | 2.91 | 1.58 | 127 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 2.85 | 1.60 | 109 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 3.35 | 1.31 | 48 | | | | | | |
| 2. I Like to Be With | Monroe | 4.17 | 1.52 | 36 | 18.60* | Black | 2.88 | 1.54 | 99 | 1.86 |
| | Roman | 2.21 | 1.34 | 33 | | Nonblack | 3.00 | 1.57 | 127 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 2.51 | 1.46 | 109 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 3.52 | 1.22 | 48 | | | | | | |
| 3. Can Influence Me | Monroe | 4.03 | 1.72 | 36 | 17.52* | Black | 2.92 | 1.63 | 99 | 0.00 |
| | Roman | 2.33 | 1.43 | 33 | | Nonblack | 2.78 | 1.64 | 127 | |
| | Oak Lawn | 2.29 | 1.44 | 109 | | | | | | |
| | St. August | 3.54 | 1.41 | 48 | | | | | | |

*p=.001.

received by 226 fifth to eighth grade children attending the four schools. The sample in Tables 10-3 and 10-4 is larger than that in Table 10-2 because more obtained data, particularly at Roman and Oak Lawn, were usable.

Two-way analyses of variance were performed on the three peer status measures. Results in Table 10-4 indicate no racial differences. Black children are as likely as nonblack children, on average, to be perceived by their peers as persons to study with, to be with, or as persons who can influence them. However, there are highly significant school differences.

School effects: Peer status results

Table 10-5 presents the t-values (pooled variance estimates) for the four schools on each of the peer status variables.

Table 10-5

Comparison of the Peer Status Mean Ranks of Four Private Urban Elementary Schools

| | School | Roman | | Oak Lawn | | St. August | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **School** | **Peer Variables** | **T-Value** (67) | p | **T-Value** (143) | p | **T-Value** (82) | p |
| Monroe | P Study With | 4.97 | .00 | 3.67 | .00 | 1.98 | .05 |
| | P Be With | 5.64 | .00 | 5.84 | .00 | 2.16 | .03 |
| | P Can Influence | 4.44 | .00 | 5.96 | .00 | 1.42 | .16 |
| | | | | (140) | | (79) | |
| Roman | P Study With | | | 2.07 | .04 | 3.76 | .00 |
| | P Be With | | | 1.06 | .29 | 4.56 | .00 |
| | P Can Influence | | | 0.14 | .89 | 3.76 | .00 |
| | | | | | | (155) | |
| Oak Lawn | P Study With | | | | | 1.90 | .06 |
| | P Be With | | | | | 4.18 | .00 |
| | P Can Influence | | | | | 5.03 | .00 |

Generally, children at Monroe and St. August average more peer nominations than children at Oak Lawn or Roman. Children at Oak Lawn receive significantly more peer nominations for Peer Study With, than children at Roman. Monroe children receive a higher average number of peer nominations than St. August children on Peer Study With and Peer Be With.

Further analyses of school and race effects: Peer status measures

Results in Table 10-5 do not indicate whether or not children are being consistently nominated by their same-race peers. Data in Table 10-6 address this issue.

Insert Table 10-6

Results in Table 10-6 will be discussed by school and race. Black children are twice as likely to nominate black children to study with at Monroe and Oak Lawn, than nonblack children. This is not true at either Roman or St. August. They are also twice as likely at Monroe and Oak Lawn to nominate other black children to be with rather than nonblack children. Again, this is not true at either Roman or St. August. However, only at Oak Lawn are black children twice as likely to nominate black, rather than nonblack, children as persons who can influence them.

Nonblack children at every school except Monroe are twice as likely to nominate nonblack, rather than black,

## Table 10-6

## School Differences in Race of Nominee and Nominator Effects on Peer Status Variables (Raw Nominations)

| | Black Nominee | | | | | | Nonblack Nominee | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Black Nominators | | | Nonblack Nominators | | | Black Nominators | | | Nonblack Nominators | | |
| School[a] | Study With | Be With | Can Influence Me | Study With | Be With | Can Influence Me | Study With | Be With | Can Influence Me | Study With | Be With | Can Influence Me |
| Monroe | 40 | 40 | 27 | 25 | 27 | 21 | 18 | 19 | 21 | 20 | 16 | 14 |
| Oak Lawn | 55 | 34 | 25 | 42 | 14 | 13 | 22 | 15 | 10 | 80 | 72 | 47 |
| Roman | 5 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 2 | 17 | 13 | 9 |
| St. August | 24 | 21 | 19 | 17 | 11 | 15 | 25 | 24 | 24 | 42 | 47 | 35 |

[a] At Monroe, Oak Lawn, Roman, and St. August the percentages black = 50, 28, 6, and 35 respectively.

peers as persons to study with, be with, and who can influence them. Although black children are nominated by roughly equivalent numbers of black and nonblack students at each school, nonblack children receive a higher proportion of nonblack, in comparison with black, nominations. They receive three times as many at Oak Lawn and Roman, and in two instances (P-Study, P-Be With), almost twice as many at St. August. Nonblack students tend to receive more nonblack, in comparison with black, nominations as their percentages rise in the school populations. However, black students do not receive dramatic increments in black, in comparison with nonblack, nominations as their percentages rise.

### Grade effects: Peer status results

Two-way analyses of variance, using grade and race as independent factors, were performed on the three peer status measures. For Peer Study With, there were no significant interactions or main effects. For Peer Be With and Peer Can Influence Me there were no significant interactions, and no main effects for race. However, for both variables there is a significant main effect for grade. For Peer Be With, the means for the fifth through eighth grades are, respectively, 2.53 ($\underline{n}$=76), 3.36 ($\underline{n}$=55), 2.81 ($\underline{n}$=58), and 3.47 ($\underline{n}$=36). For Peer Can Influence Me, the means for the fifth through eighth grades are respectively, 2.66 ($\underline{n}$=76), 3.35 ($\underline{n}$=55), 2.40 ($\underline{n}$=58) and 3.17 ($\underline{n}$=36).

The grade-level F-ratios for the two variables are, respectively, F(3,224)=4.918, p=.003, and F(3,224)=4.123, p=.007. Given other data presented in Table 10-3, the findings suggest that younger grade students at both Monroe and St. August in particular more often nominate their older grade peers than the reverse.

In separate school by grade analyses, for Peer Be With and Peer Can Influence Me, interactions are found to be significant. The interaction F-ratio for Peer Be With is F(9,224)=3.168, p=.001. For Peer Can Influence Me, F(9,224)=3.611, p=.001. Highly significant main effects for school and grade are also obtained in these analyses. For Peer Be With, they are F(3,224)=18.86, p=.001 for school, and F(3,224)=3.92, p=.009 for grade. For Peer Can Influence Me, they are F(3,224)=16.87, p=.001 for school, and F(3,224)=2.74, p=.04 for grade.

## Correlations Between Self Concept, Peer Status and Academic Achievement Measures

Table 10-7 presents Pearson correlations between self concept factors, including peer ranks, academic achievement and sex. The matrix offers convergent-discriminant validation of measures used, and some additional descriptive information. A 99% or better confidence level was accepted for these data. Non-significant correlations ($p > .01$) are not reported.

### Table 10-7

### Correlations Between Self Concept Factors Academic Achievement and Sex

*N*s=226-156

| | Factors | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Factors | HCOGCOM | HSOCCOM | MATHCOM | HBODAPP | HCONDUC | HSelf | SelfEva | PStudy | PBEWith | PINFI | Reading | Math | Self | Sex |
| HCOGCOM | | .32** | .27** | .41** | .38** | .48** | .62** | .19* | | | .26** | .27** | | |
| HSOCCOM | | | .36** | .48** | .29** | .48** | .20* | .30** | .24** | .17* | | | | |
| MATHCOM | | | | .41** | | .33** | | | | | | | | .30** |
| HBODAPP | | | | | .22** | .61** | .29** | .22* | | | | | | .22** |
| HCONDUC | | | | | | .46** | .33* | | | | .20* | | | -.18* |
| HSelf | | | | | | | .32** | .24** | | .17* | | | | |
| SelfEva | | | | | | | | .26** | | | .42** | .26** | | |
| PStudy | | | | | | | | | .64** | .52** | | | | |
| PBEWith | | | | | | | | | | .69** | | | | |
| PINFI | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Reading | | | | | | | | | | | | .34** | | |
| Math | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Self | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Sex | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Note: A 99% or better confidence level was accepted for correlational data. Non-significant correlations ($p > .01$) are not reported.

*$p \leq .01$.
**$p \leq .001$.

The Harter perceived competence and self esteem scales are more highly intercorrelated among themselves than with peer status or achievement ratings. This is also true of peer scores: They are more highly intercorrelated among themselves than with either self concept or achievement scores. Reading and math scores are significantly correlated and, except for perceived student class rank (Self-Eva), more highly correlated with each other than with other scores. Furthermore, the Harter Cognitive Competence scale has the highest correlation, of the six Harter scales, with reading and mathematics achievement scores. Perceived student class rank (SelfEva) also correlates significantly with achievement scores, particularly reading achievement. Peer status variables correlate significantly with Harter's Perceived Social Competence (HSocCom) scale, and with the Perceived Self Esteem scale (HSelf).

Generally, child sex is not correlated with the child measures of self concept, peer status, or achievement. However, it is positively correlated with Perceived Athletic Competence and Perceived Body Appearance. Boys, in comparison with girls, are more likely to feel especially competent in sports and games, and to be satisfied with their physical appearance. Child sex is negatively correlated with Perceived General Conduct (HConduc); girls are less likely than boys to report dissatisfaction with how they act around others. Harter(1983) had similar findings.

Intrarace correlations were examined. The findings indicate that 35 of 46 total significant correlations (76%) are higher for black than nonblack students, for 8 correlations they are lower (17%), and for 3 correlations (7%) findings are discrepant between the two groups of students. Correlations between Math achievement and Perceived Cognitive Competence (HCogCom) are .20(*n*=92, *p*=.05), and .33(*n*=69, *p*=.003), respectively, for black and nonblack students. Correlations between Math achievement and Evaluation of Student Academic Rank (SelfEva) are .17(*n*=66, *p*=.08) and .33(*n*=91, *p*=.001), respectively, for black and nonblack students. Finally, correlations between Sex and Perceived General Conduct (HConduc) are -.11(*n*=80, *p*=.169) and -.25(*n*=103, *p*=.006), respectively, for black and nonblack students.

Generally, data indicate that measures relate similarly for black and nonblack students. However, nonblack girls account for sex differences on the measure of Perceived General Conduct, and nonblack students account for the obtained significant relationships between level of mathematics performance and (a) perceived cognitive competence, and (b) evaluation of student academic rank reported in Table 10-7.

## Sex effects: Self Concept and Peer Status Measures

School effects upon peer status and perceived athletic competence have been reported. Race effects on perceived social competence and perceived body appearance have also been reported. Additional analyses were performed to further explore the effects of child sex upon these variables.

Two-way analyses of variance, using school and sex as independent factors, were performed on the three peer status measures and the measure of perceived athletic competence. There were no significant interactions and no significant main effects for child sex on any of the three peer status measures. However, though there were no significant interactions, there is a significant main effect for sex $\underline{F}(1,182)=12.37$, $\underline{p}=.001$ that is even greater than the main effect for school $\underline{F}(3,182)=3.81$, $\underline{p}=.01$, on the measure of perceived athletic competence. At every school, boys rate themselves higher than girls on this variable. The means of boys range from 3.73 - 2.78, while the means of girls range from 2.78 - 2.36.

Finally, two-way analyses of variance, using race and sex as independent factors, were performed on the measures of perceived social competence and perceived body appearance. There were no significant interactions, and no main effects for sex on the measure of perceived social competence. Black boys and girls are equally likely to perceive themselves as more socially competent than their nonblack peers. However, though there were no significant interactions, there is a significant main effect for sex $\underline{F}(1,182)=10.30$, $\underline{p}=.002$, that is even greater than the main effect for race $\underline{F}(1,182)=5.42$, $\underline{p}=.02$ on the measure of perceived body appearance. Among both black and nonblack children, boys consistently are more positive in their perceptions of their physical appearance. Means for black and nonblack boys are 3.13($\underline{n}=41$) and 2.80 ($\underline{n}=58$); for black and nonblack girls the means are 2.68 ($\underline{n}=39$) and 2.49($\underline{n}=45$).

Summary: Academic Achievement, Self Concept, and Peer Status

Black and nonblack children generally perform at or above grade level at the four schools. From the viewpoint of academic achievement and some aspects of self-concept development, boys are more successful in these schools than girls. Results suggest that boys, especially black boys, highly regard their physical appearance and that schools contribute to their perceptions of athletic competence. Black children perceive themselves to be more socially competent in comparison with their nonblack peers' perceptions of themselves. In schools where two grades shared classrooms, children, especially upper-grade children, received more peer nominations. Therefore, school organization is an important factor in children's perceptions of others' peer status. Race does not impact the distribution of peer ranks, but it does impact how individual ranks are attained.

## Conclusion

In this chapter traditional evidence has been offered to support the position that each of the four study schools provides an excellent academic education. Middle school children, black and nonblack, do perform, on average, at grade level or above in reading comprehension and mathematics computation on standard achievement tests. In the one school serving a poorer community children are slightly below grade level, but do perform better, on average, than children attending other nearby schools. Further, children in the four schools perceive themselves to be academically able. They report high levels of confidence in their ability to do their schoolwork and they compare themselves favorably with their immediate school peers. Black children are as sure of their capabilities, on average, as nonblack children.

Each school is also highly supportive of other arenas of self-concept development. Children are at or above available norms on measures of whether they perceive themselves to be socially capable, thus making and having friends easily, whether they like how they look, and whether they feel capable of performing successfully in games, sports, and related physical activities. They believe they behave well, on average, around others, and they are generally happy with themselves as persons. In this regard, black children's self-evaluations are either similar or even higher than those of their nonblack peers.

The children can distinguish among peers. They identify other children they like to study with, like to be with, and whom they believe can influence them. For any individual child, these need not be the same persons. Although some children receive more peer nominations than others, in these schools there are no significant race differences in the frequency of nominations. Black children are as often highly ranked by peers as other children.

However, these schools are not perfect. Boys are more satisfied with how they look and their physical abilities than girls. Boys' reading achievement test scores are higher than girls' scores. Black children receive as many peer nominations as other children primarily because of the support they receive from their black peers. Many black children do not perceive that in school others do identify them racially, whether or not this identification results in invidious discriminatory practices. The school with the highest number of working class children has the lowest level of reading achievement.

These data do not imply that family process variables are unimportant to school/race effects on academic achievement and self concept. The data also do not imply that the selectivity of the schools, as a result of admissions standards and procedures, is unimportant. The data do suggest that whatever the contribution of the above factors, at minimum, the in-school experiences of the children continue to be supportive of family and school educational goals.

Despite the imperfections, the schools are living up to their reputations: Black children are receiving an excellent education in these facilities. Perhaps the most important issues now are how and why?

Preceding chapters described the educational goals of black parents and school administrators in the four schools. This chapter offered evidence that the essentials of these goals are being realized among the black children in the four very different, from a philosophical perspective, educational settings. What is the schooling process like on a daily basis, and how is the personal involvement of students in their academic work and the life of the school achieved? How are the unique social and cultural backgrounds of the black students managed in these desegregated school environments? What do the routines and sanctions of the school environments contribute to the formation of the kind of educated persons the schools each hope their children will become?

In the following two chapters, each of the preceding questions will be discussed in detail by comparing and contrasting two of the four schools that answer these questions very differently. All four schools could be contrasted; two have been chosen for each chapter to be as concise as possible in this report. The four questions posed reflect the major themes along which parental educational goals diverge. Therefore, it is appropriate to consider observational and other narrative data from these perspectives. In so doing, the two research questions of this ethnographic study are integrated because links are established between parental choice and the educational experiences of the children.

# Chapter 11

# Black Students and Their Teachers and Peers: Monroe and Oak Lawn

## Introduction

This study has two research questions: first, why are black parents sending their children to urban, desegregated private schools, and second, what are the experiences of the black children in these schools. An ecological paradigm has been used to integrate the diverse sources of ethnographic data, both qualitative and quantitative, obtained. Thus far, the argument has been that the black parents have identifiable educational goals which are usually very consistent with the educational philosophies of the four study schools (see chapters 7-9), and that the relatively high level of complementarity between the educational goals of parents and those of the schools results from a bidirectional socialization process usually initiated by schools during child admissions procedures. Further, despite considerable diversity in overall educational philosophy, using traditional educational outcome measures as criteria, each school sustains its reputation for academic excellence (see chapter 10).

Chapters 11 and 12 address the second research question. Essentially, the argument is that although each school has individual parents (and teachers) whose educational views differ noticeably from the school's central tendency, each school also has a coherent, identifiable school culture which embraces parents and students in its overall mission. One result is that each school uniquely fashions the "successful black school achiever" through the types of experiences provided in its culture. Cooperative, but quite different, relations between families and schools provide the necessary and sufficient foundation to sustain the children's learning and development in the middle school years. There are probably several paths to black children's successful school achievement, only four of which are described in this study.

Chapter 8 reports that parental educational goals in these two schools differ in particular on two dimensions: first, where educational authority is perceived to primarily reside, in schools (Oak Lawn) versus families (Monroe), and second, the centrality of children's interpersonal relationships (and feelings) with teachers and peers to the learning process. Chapter 9 reports that the educational histories, philosophies, and policies for achieving the goals of the two schools are also very dissimilar. Oak Lawn emphasizes academic college preparation throughdelivery of structured sequential curriculum experiences available from kindergarten through high school. Its initial and most enduring history as a boy's military boarding school surely contributes to an emphasis on discipline, scholarly precision, respect for faculty authority, and character-building. As a private elite school, it is extremely proud of of its traditions, its academic and social standing within the private school community, and progressive approaches to sex, racial, and ethnic desegregation. In contrast, Monroe emphasizes education of the whole child, an education based upon especially close, informal ties between faculty and students, ties usually sustained in an open classroom instructional format. Less focused on future goals, the school stresses the value of active, pleasurable learning at each phase of the child's development. It was started by parents as a private alternative Montessori preschool, with financial support from federal sources. Today, it envisions itself as building upon this tradition, having become a viable free-standing independent school serving grades K-8.

Despite their many differences, Monroe and Oak Lawn share similarities, three of which are central to this chapter. Both schools serve middle income black and nonblack populations; both have significantly better than chance numbers of black students; and both deeemphasize race in educational planning and decision-making.

Descriptions offered in chapters 11 and 12 are primarily based upon data obtained during 135 half-day observations conducted across the four schools in grades 5-8 in 1983-84. A Field Manual and other information about observational procedures are included in Volume II,Appendices B and C, of this report. To narrow the scope of the observations, focal black children were preidentified at each school and grade level. The behaviors and actions of these children with teachers and peers constitute "focal points" for characterizing the experiences of black children in these schools. Observations were also conducted during class field trips, special assemblies, eighth-grade graduation, parent meetings and other special all-school events. During the course of these observations, school documents (e.g., school brochures, announcements, lesson plans, admissions portfolios, etc.) were also collected. Therefore, interpretations of the observational data are substantially enriched by both the archival documents, and the interview data discussed in earlier chapters. Importantly, when observations were conducted, no systematic analyses of interview data had been done. The judgement of coherence and consistency within each of these school cultures arose after simultaneous consideration of both major informational sources.

In this report, it is impossible to present extensive observational data. This chapter presents detailed records of only six sessions, three from each of two schools. Each record was obtained during one of 4-5 class periods in one half-day's work. However, prior to the choice of these records, all records on each of the two schools being contrasted, Oak Lawn and Monroe, were thoroughly reviewed. The sessions have been selected to illustrate particular features of the two school environments being contrasted. Discussion of these sessions is then followed by presentation of illustrative supporting data from other records.

For a child to have a chance at becoming a successful school achiever, faculty (and parents) must encourage and support that child's participation and involvement with school life, inspire the child to its best academic efforts, and establish standards as to attitudes and behaviors to be valued by the child in itself and others in learning situations.

However, given the differing school cultures, Oak Lawn and Monroe use very different strategies to successfully realize these aims. Two differences in these learning environments contribute most to the divergent experiences of the children: first, the authority relations between children and adults, and second, the adults' management of the children's interpersonal relations. Despite individual differences in teacher personality and style, each school was remarkably consistent in how these factors were treated between classrooms over time in the 83-84 observational year. Further, given the differences in approach to authority and peer relations, similar perceptions of the role of class and race in the educational process actually resulted in quite different experiences for the attending black students.

The first two records are primarily presented to illustrate each school's approach to involving children in life in the classroom, the second two records to illustrate efforts to inspire and motivate children, and the third, and final, two records to illustrate preferred attitudes and behaviors. However, all records contain elements pertinent to the above three issues and, insofar as different teachers are involved, it is possible to assess evidence for the consistency of each school's approach to the issues somewhat independently of teacher personality and style.

## Student Involvement

The first session occurred at Oak Lawn, and the second at Monroe. Mathematics instruction at the sixth grade level occurs in both observations.

### Background Information

1. School: Oak Lawn
2. Date: Friday, October 7, 1983
3. Observer: RWL
4. Class: Ms. Krulee's 6th grade
5. Students: There are 13 students, 6 of whom are black. There are 3 black boys, 3 black girls, 5 nonblack boys, 2 nonblack girls. One focal child, a black boy, Spencer, is present. The black students are: John, Ann, Carrie, Monica, Spencer, and Richard. The nonblack students are: Bruce, Steven, Thomas, Jerome, Lisa, Susan, and Philip.
6. Teacher: Ms. Krulee is young, attractive, tall (5'8") and slender (125 lbs.). She has longish sandy brown hair and is very cordial. Pleasant but business like in the classroom, she has an easy smile and is very gracious to me. She has recently graduated from college and is a second year teacher at Oak Lawn.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
   - A. Subject Matter Focus: Mathematics
   - B. Observation Time: 11:24-12:04
   - C. Instructional Level: 6-3, lowest level of grade 6
   - D. Instructional Strategy: Whole class
   - E. Materials: Mathematics textbook, Catalog order forms, etc.
8. Narrative Description of Physical Setting: I arrived in the classroom with the students at 11:25. The classroom is located at the northwest end of the first floor of the middle school building. The room is well lighted with desks desks arranged in slightly uneven rows. The teacher's desk is at the front of the room. As this is the largest room on the floor, there is a great deal of room at the back where I sit. On the eastern and northern walls are math posters representing avariety of topics, including metric height, a fraction chart, a percentile chart, and a measurement poster. There is a chalkboard and number line behind the teacher's desk, and a chalkboard at the immediately opposite northern end of theroom. Four students occupy each of the first three rows facing the teacher's desk, and a final child (nonblack boy) sits at the second desk (to the teacher's right) in the front row.

### Narrative

11:25 T to class: Ok, you're late (coming from Science). Take out skill drill number 23; it should be on your desk.
T closes door.
(Jerome and Lisa appear to have an altercation.)
T to Jerome: Why are you pushing Lisa?
Jerome to T: (I can't hear reply.)
T to Jerome: Is that any excuse? (disgustedly and firmly)
T goes around room checking work and marking grade books.

T to Steven and (?): You were to do even numbers only. You did twice as much.

T calls on students for answers to homework problems in the in the following order:
Jerome? (He answers correctly.)
Philip? (He answers correctly.)
Spencer? (He answers correctly.)
Susan? (T helps. T asks Thomas to help. Thomas gives correct answer.)
Carrie? (She answers correctly.)
Bruce? (He answers correctly.)
Steven? (He answers incorrectly; T continues to next student.)
Ann? (She also answers incorrectly; T continues to next student.)
Thomas? (He answers correctly.)
Richard? (He answers correctly.)
Lisa? (She answers correctly.)
Thomas? (He answers correctly.)
Richard? (He answers correctly.)
Jerome? (He answers correctly.)

11:30: All students are on task, including Spencer.

T to class: We've talked about reading numerals (since) the first week of class. You should know this. Some students don't put commas in.
(Class continues with providing answers.)
John? (He answers correctly.)
Philip? (He answers correctly.)
Susan? (She answers incorrectly.)
Spencer? (He answers correctly.)

T to class: How many got all right? Several students raise hands. 2? (i.e., 2 wrong) Spencer and others raise their hands. 3? (wrong) Most children raise their hands.
T to class: Ok, you're going to have to change the chart in your book. T explains that it is because they did only half the the problems. T to class: Now, I'm going to return questions. (Not clear whether homework or test questions)
T gives paper to Thomas.
Thomas (out loud): Oh! I got them all right! (Thomas puts paper over his mouth as if realizing the mistake of speaking out loud.)
T smiles and says to Thomas: You're the only one who got 100.
Student (?): He always does in every class.
Students talk about grades (Can't hear individual conversations)

T: Turn around. (Several children are turned, talking to neighbors.)
T reads answers to questions.
Bruce to T: May I go to the bathroom?
T to Bruce: As soon as we finish these.
Susan to Richard: (can't hear)
T explains some of the problems.

Richard pounds head with hand (Apparently because he made careless mistakes.)
T to John: What did you do wrong? - You're the only one who didn't follow directions?
T to class: Any questions before we go on?
T goes over rest of questions.
T to class: Why is 20 wrong?
Spencer to T: (He explains correctly.)
T to class: Any questions? No answer from students.
Spencer to T: May I go to bathroom?
T to Spencer: Yes.
Bruce to T: You said I could go.
T to Bruce: Ok, I forgot. You can go when he comes back.
T repeats to class: Any questions? Class doesn't respond.
T to class: Ok, take out books to p. (?).
John to Bruce: (I can't hear.)

T to Bruce and John: Bruce and John, You shouldn't be talking? (T nips misbehavior before it escalates.) Lesson is on catalog orders.
T to Thomas: Read. Thomas reads (aloud).

T further explains catalog order form.
T to class: What is total price? (Referring to one of the questions.)
T calls on Richard.
Richard to T: 59
T to Richard: Yeah, but on first line (of form).
Ann answers. (I can't hear)
T to Ann: Correct.
T explains catalog and ordering line by line of sample order form.
T to class: What two columns get multiplied?
T calls on Thomas. Thomas gives correct answer.
Spencer returns to classroom.
T to Bruce: You may go (to bathroom.).
T calls on Monica. Monica answers correctly.
T calls on John. John answers correctly. (Both Monica and John are asked questions about the order form.) T passes out catalog order forms.
T to class: Each of you has your own order. Ok, what goes under? (Referring to column heading on form - can't hear heading name)
T calls on Ann. Ann answers correctly.

(T is carefully going over each step on the order form. She is quite thorough and precise in her explanations.)
T to Steven: It's here, Steven. T points to order form to explain.
Philip, Spencer, and Steven tell what they would put in the column.
T to Steven: Right.
T to class: The second thing on your form is? (I can't hear) Remember you're going to have to multiply.
T to Bruce: Bruce, stop please! (I can't see what he is

doing)
T to class: Who can read the whole line? Students raise hands.
T calls on Jerome. Jerome gives correct answer.
T to class: Who got lines right? (Spencer doesn't raise his hand. Apparently he had an error in the line of the order.)
T to class: The next line says...?
T calls on Ann. Ann answers correctly.
T to Ann: Good thinking.

T to Carrie: Read this line (referring to next line). Carrie reads line and makes an error. Several students comment that she is wrong.
T to class: You all didn't have to jump on her.
Carrie continues reading rest of line.
Carrie makes another error and again class tries to comment.
T to class: Let her do it herself. (T is quick to discourage this kind of behavior.)
Spencer to Steven: Put your hand down, Steven. (Children seem to get annoyed with Bruce from time to time. They sometimes react negatively to him.)
Bruce to T. Comments on the error she made.
Ann to T. Another comment.
Susan to T. Describes what happened when her mother made an error on an order.

Suddenly, the bells go crazy. T says they're probably testing. Spencer stands up and says good-bye. Then he sits down. T ignores. Some students laugh.
T goes to door and looks out.
T to Bruce: Bruce, why don't you check in office?
T to class: Just calm down.
Bruce leaves and returns.
Bruce makes another comment.
T to Bruce: That's silly.
John (I can't hear)
T to John: Good, I'm glad you noticed that.

T to Richard: What did you get? (She refers to line read previously by Carrie.)
Richard gives correct answer.
T to class: Ok, we're not going to do sales tax, but does anyone know how?
T call on John. John answers.
T to John: That's correct (But in tone indicating it is an incomplete answer).
Susan continues.
T to Susan: That's partly correct.
T to class: Does anyone know how to figure sales tax?

12:00 All on task including Spencer.
T calls on several people with their hands up. All are wrong until T gets to Richard who explains correctly.
T explains on board.
T to class: You may keep these. I'm not going to collect them. On Tuesday we're going to do line graphs. Open your

book to p. (?). What does this line graph tell you? T calls on Spencer; Spencer gives correct answer.
T to class (referring to word problem in book): Did they sell more pennants or hats on Monday?
T calls on Philip; Philip answers correctly.
T to Philip: Right, how did you know?
Philip explains answer correctly.
T asks another question.
T calls on Thomas. Thomas answers correctly.
T to Thomas: How did you know?
Thomas explains correctly. (T usually asks for explanation when an answer is correct.)
T to class: What about on Friday?
T calls on Monica. Monica answers correctly.
T to Monica: Right.
T to class: We can also find out how much they made. Don't figure it but how would you do it?
T to Lisa: Lisa? Lisa answers correctly.
(T focuses a large number of questions on how to think through a problem; not just how to compute an answer.)
T to class: What about hats? (referring to line graph)
T calls on Ann. Ann answers correctly.
T to class: Tuesday there will be a review. Wednesday there's a test. You can review during computer (time) when (you are) not at a terminal. No homework tonight. Students to T: All right.
Students prepare to leave the classroom for lunch period.

## Background Information

1. School: Monroe
2. Date: Wednesday, January 25, 1984
3. Observer: DTS
4. Class: Mrs. Meyer's 5-6 grade
5. Students: There are 24 students in grades 5-6; 13 are 5th graders, and 11 are 6th graders. Of the 13 5th graders, 4 are black boys: Avery, Hernando, Carl, and Adam; 6 are black girls: Joan, Lena, Phyllis, Dinah, Emma, and Pamela; 2 are nonblack boys, David and John; and 1 is a nonblack Sandra. Of the 11 6th graders, 2 are black boys, Dwight and Gerald; 6 are black girls, Sophie, Olivia, Edna, Emily, Hannah, and Jacqueline; 1 is a nonblack boy, Albert, and 2 are nonblack girls: Valerie and Anna. The focal children in grade 5 are Joan and Lena; in grade 6they are Olivia and Hannah. Edna and Emily are twins; Emma and Gerald are brother and sister and probably of mixed-racial parentage.
6. Teachers: Mrs. Meyer (T) and Mrs. Trema (T2) both taught during this session. Mrs. Meyer is somewhat tall, about 5'7", of medium-build, in her 40's with short-cropped brown hair. Her Scandinavian accent and soft, confident voice tone are very pleasant. She has been in the U.S. for many years, long enough to raise a college-bound daughter. Given that her husband is a physician, her family is

solidly upper-middle class, but Mrs. M. herself is a very easy-going, understated, gentle person who rarely asserts her social position. She has taught in poorer, public neighborhood schools in Chicago, but much prefers Monroe at which she has taught for 8 years partly because she perceives Monroe parents to be more involved with their children's school achievement.

Mrs. Trema has a primary grade daughter who attends Monroe. Blond, with blue eyes, foreign-born, with an accent, she works very hard to develop science and math-related activities throughout Monroe. She recently took a leadership role in obtaining and adapting computers for the educational experiences of Monroe children, and is responsible for the order and upkeep of the computer room. Aside from these general duties, she is a co-teacher in grade 5-6 in the areas of mathematics and natural sciences. Though quite cordial, she is business-like, and task-oriented with children and adults. She declined to be interviewed, pleading time constraints given what other teachers had told her of the interview's length.

7. Basic Classroom Information:
    A. Subject Matter Focus: Math (T2) and Language Arts (T)
    B. Observation Time: 8:35-10:04
    C. Instructional Level: The 6th graders do math with T2 and the 5th graders work on a classified ad project with T; then the groups reverse. No within grade distinctions are made.
    D. Instructional strategy: Two small groups corresponding to grade level.
    E. Materials: For math, student's personal math notebook, pencil, chalkboard; for language arts, classified section of newspaper, paper, pencils.
8. Narrative Description of Physical Setting: This classroom is located on the second floor of Monroe, windows facing east. It contains many focal areas of interest and items because it is used daily for all 5-6th grade activities except art and music/dance, computer and library instuction, and gym and recess. It is used for lunch and in-door recess. Children hang coats, bookbags, etc. in hall lockers. To the right of the room, near the windows, are four padded "lofts" or semi-private padded coves which children frequently climb up into to read, chat, or just sit and/or recline. I conduct nearly all observations of this class from the second loft opposite the windows. From this position I can see the entire room, but I cannot hear normally-voiced conversations in the northern part.

The southeastern-most square area of this room contains, aside from these lofts and the instructional storage units hidden by curtains beneath them, a red rug, and seating for 8 students. Seats at each pair of desks usually face one another. The northeastern area of the room contains seating for 8 students, additional storage units, bulletin board, plants on the window sills, etc. Essentially, the classroom door divides the northern and southern sections of the room. The division is further reinforced by equipment storage shelves directly in front of the door, near the eastern windows. The northwestern area contains a counter and sink, other culinary supplies; the computer; a blue-topped round table with 3 gray stools; a row of seat/desk units for 3 students that face this table and the northwestern wall, and a metal file drawer which contains chronicles of the accomplishments and weekly tasks of each pupil. The southwestern area (to the left of the classroom door) contains additional storage units, two wall-based chalkboards and two rectangular tables just in front of the chalkboards, each of which can seat 7 persons. The class record player, terranium, and a row of 4 additional seat/desk units that face the western wall are also in this section. All seat/desk units, except for the 7 facing the western wall, are movable, and are frequently moved, by children. Each child has a private desk or study area, but it seems that the choice of that area is"open," and therefore, children in the same grade and/or "friends" tend to sit in close proximity. Friendships are typically sex-segregated.

In this observation, the math lesson occurs in the southwestern area of the room; and the language arts lesson in the southeastern area. Other children working individually are primarily seated at the northern end of the room. Children at the computer are in the northwestern area. I am located in the second loft as usual.

## Narrative

8:35 Classroom lights are not on; Mrs. Trema (T2) is in the room, but not Mrs. Meyer (T). Some children are present. T2 and Dinah are at a table near the blackboard; Avery, Adam, Dwight, Phyllis and Emma are at their usual desks. Enter Hernando, John, and Gerald. Enter Carl, Joan. Joan passes a desk on the way to her seat at which Valerie, Lena, and Pamela surround Anna. Enter Robert...Carl goes over to see the live snake in the class terrarium which to now has been ignored. Children talk quietly to one another.

8:40 T enters the class and turns the lights on (She has been, I later learn, in a teacher's meeting.) T shakes the hands of Dwight, Phyllis, Anna, Jacqueline, Lena, Joan, and Hernando, as she moves around the classroom, inspecting what children are doing, and welcoming them to the start of a new day. (T follows this practice everyday; it is consistent with her educational philosophy and training; it is always done informally. Usually, she is at or near the door when students enter the class and it occurs there. Today, because of her late arrival, she went to where individual students were located. As no one asked about her, I presume all students knew where she was.) Enter Emily, then Olivia, then Edna, followed by Sandra. T shakes the hand of Gerald, Adam, Albert. Children start to work on materials at their desks, but many desks still have chairs atop them. During all of this time, Dinah is talking with T2 (It seems about schoolwork). T begins to talk to John and then to Edna and Emily (Quietly, presumably about schoolwork).

T to Avery, Hernando, Gerald: I want you guys to settle down, down (The three of them are now at her blue-topped roundtable; T wants them to begin working as are the other students.)
8:48 Sophie appears at the classroom door, but she backs away, and does not enter and go to her desk until about 8:50 (What is being described here is a very relaxed, informal context that is typical of how the day begins in this class (and school).).

Olivia (Coming over to where I am seated in the loft) to DTS: Have you seen our crickets?
DTS to Olivia: No-Did they come yesterday?
Olivia to DTS: Yeah...
DTS to Olivia: I'll have to go see them; how are you? (I smile)
Olivia to DTS: Okay (Satisfied, she walks away.).
Olivia (going to where T is standing) and T discuss the crickets which are placed in front of the desks of Pamela, Lena, Jacqueline, and Phyllis.

Jacqueline to Sophie (on observing T2 and Dinah still talking): Today ain't Thursday, what's she doing conferencing?
Sophie to Jacqueline: Helping with math...
They continue to talk, and are not working.
T to Jacqueline and Sophie: Okay can we have this...a little more constructive--have you done your picture story?
8:54 Jacqueline to Sophie: I'm not talkin' to you!
(Since I am not circulating around the room; in this situation it is difficult to see who is "on task" and who is not, as far as actually engaged in individual work. No child is disruptive.)

8:55 T2 to class: All right 6th graders, please come to math. There is a big scramble of the 6th graders to the twolow tables directly beside the chalkboard (Where Dinah and T2 were conferencing.). (Meanwhile, Pamela, Lena, and Dinah climb into the loft with me, an event which never happened in the initial observation days.)
T2 to Sophie: Spit your gum out! Sophie complies.
9:00 (6th graders are seated at two tables for this math lesson.
Gerald, Emily, and Edna sit at one table; Sophie, Albert, Olivia, Valerie, Hannah, Dwight, Anna, and Jacqueline sit at the other table.

T2 writes on chalkboard:

"a) Equal fractions

b) Change improper fractions into mixed numerals

Eg. a) 2/3 = 4/6 = 8/12 = "

(T2 is demonstrating which fractions are essentially equivalent, and reaffirming the rules for establishing equivalence. As in past lessons, the children each have their own books; they first solve the presented problem independently and then they compare what they found with classmates, presenting their findings aloud to T2. During the lesson, the suspense of seeing if one has computed correctly is quite energizing and exciting to the students all of whom eagerly raise their hands to share their own answer with T and the group.)

Meanwhile, T has sat down at the head of another rectangular table; to her right are Adam, Avery, and John; to her left are Hernando, Carl, and David. T's group is going over the advertisment section of the Tribune classified ad section; she is teaching them about the parts of this section of the newspaper. Lena, Pamela, and Jacqueline are still in the loft with me; Emma and Sandra are together at the computer; Joan is working alone at her desk.

9:07 Every child in this classroom is occupied; every child in T2's group is attending to her lesson; every child in T's group is attending to her lesson.

T to Hernando: (Hernando is leaning back in his chair.) All right, all right, remember my husband's hole in his head...
Chuckles, laughter at this table.
Student (?) to T: How did that happen?
T to her group: Didn't I tell you that story?
Adam to T: You told me.
T to her group: (He was) not minding his mother who told him not to rear back in the chair, he fell back, has a bald spot...
By now, Hernando has brought his chair to an upright position.

9:15 Math group; all children are working on "2/5 = 188/295" trying to determine the factor common to numerator and denominator, and whether the above equation is legitimate.
T2 to the group: Okay, now let's check in... (Someone offers 94 as the common factor)
T2 to group: (No)...94 x 5 = 470, so we are already over, this cannot be...
T2 gives the group another possibility to be checked out: "2/5 = 240/600" (This one, of course, is possible.)

Joan and Phyllis appear quite busy at their desks with their projects. Sandra continues to work at the computer and Lena, Jacqueline, Pamela are still in the loft chatting, not working.

9:20 T to her group: Now, you are to write your own ad, and make it so you sell the letter to the Tribune--please put in my ad--find out what it costs to send in an ad...
Adam to T: I don't want to send in my ad!
T to Adam: You're not going to, but you can find out what it costs. T leaves the group now, after explaining again what the

project task is. Collectively, the boys discuss what they will each choose to write an ad about.
Lena and Pamela are drawing in the loft, and having a conversation about snakes in Mississippi.

T to her group: (Let me know?) when you are done with the paper...speed it up a little; I need it (i.e., the newspaper) to use with other people.

(I didn't see or hear how this started, but Adam and John are exchanging punches; John is seated, but Adam is standing.)
Adam to John: Boy, you shouldn't be playing like that (Adam is mad, he has a red face.) The other boys in the group say: Come on Adam, come on Adam, beat the stuff out of him! But Adam turns away, and no teacher intervention occurs.

9:30 T to Lena: I don't like you just sitting around drawing those dumb pictures day after day. Lena, you're not paying to go to school to draw...Lena do you hear me? What are you going to do about it? Lena does not answer, and the issue is dropped as class focus shifts when T2 convenes the 5th grade (Lena is a 5th grader) as a math group (T has informed me that she gives out the work schedule, relative to assignments to be completed, on Monday of each new week, for the full week; at the end of the week she conferences with each student as to work completed and sends a report home to each child's family. She is expressing a concern to Lena that she is not progressing in her recent assignment; if she were, I do not think T would particularly care about the fact that Lena is not working today; she does not, for example, make the comment to Pamela, who has been in the loft with Lena for the same amount of time.).

New math group. At one table are Hernando, John, David, Avery, Adam, and Carl; at the other are Pamela, Dinah, Sandra, Emma, Phyllis, Lena, and Joan. T2 places on chalkboard: "Factors of 48"; all children are attending, including Lena and Joan.
(T2 will give a series of problems in which 4 numbers are placed below numbers like 48, 24, etc. Students are to independently identify which of the four numbers are, in fact, "factors" of the larger number, then share their findings with group members, including how they obtained their answers. Once again there is much excitment associated with the suspense in this activity. All children are involved and on task throughout. I decide to observe the classfied ad subgroup more closely.)

T to her group: All right, I'm going to take these two here. I want to help you so you can each write your own ad...Starting out, what date are you reading? (This group consists of T, Jacqueline who sits to her right, and Hannah, Olivia, and Sophie who sit to her left.)
T to her group: Okay, this is called "classified?"
Olivia to T: I know what I want on my ad!
T to Olivia: Good, we go in order, Sophie first...What is the

symbol (I don't know the referent)...What is in?
Sophie to T: Ummm, job?
T to Sophie: No, symbol?
Sophie to T: Like a briefcase?
T to Sophie: Excellent.

T to Hannah: Now, Hannah, you get number 3, mean?
Hannah to T: Any kind of building?
T to Hannah: Good, excellent
Jacqueline to T: Business opportunities?
T to Jacqueline: Symbol there?
Jacqueline to T: A dollar sign
T to Olivia: Last bit Olivia is easy
Olivia to T: Automart...a car
(The group continues to discuss the symbols associated with the ads.)

9:38 Hernando, now in the math group falls back (finally) in the chair he has been tipping backwards in to the floor. He is very embarrassed. No one in the group, or the class, laughs.
T2 to her group: Very good that you did not laugh; that was very good

Anna to T: I thought of a great name for the newspaper (i.e., the class newspaper being planned)--Room 9 Times
T to Anna: You talk about it with other people
Anna is watering the seeds opposite T's blue roundtable. Valerie, Edna, and Emily work at their own desks, but I think Albert, Gerald, and Dwight, though at their desks, are not working.

9:42 T to her group: You girls, I managed 6 boys better; you are always quarreling (I thought this could happen, based on my other observations of this group; that's why I decided to watch them more closely. In some ways, these girls are the most "feisty" of all class members, especially when interacting together.)
Olivia puts her fingers in Sophie's face when T responds "Excellent" to a response/comment made by Sophie
Sophie to Olivia: Stop it! Olivia to Sophie: Get off my desk please; you're distracting me,
Sophie...Hey this (i.e. Sophie) is a big baby...I touch her...
T to Sophie: Sophie, would you take number 7?
Instead of Sophie, Olivia answers. T accepts the answer from Olivia.
Sophie to T: Can I do the next one?
Olivia: No...
T to her group: Now, all of you think, but Sophie gets to tell it...
Sophie and Hannah respond appropriately to T's queries. Olivia also has another turn.

Olivia to this group: A couch...My mom's friend Dotty...she has a fur couch...
Sophie to Olivia: Dotty's stupid (she and other girls breaking

out into gales of laughter)...Olivia is telling a story...
Olivia to group: I am not...
T to group: I really appreciate Hannah because she's sitting here so peacefully...not doing a thing wrong (Actually, I think Hannah's not interested in the group project.). Olivia, you're being very annoying; that's no way to make friends.
Shortly thereafter, Olivia leaves the group, though she soon returns with another classified ad section.

Albert, Dwight, and Gerald are now at the computer; Anna, Valerie, Edna, and Emily continue to work at their desks.

Jacqueline to Sophie: Sophie, stop acting silly!
T to the group: Now we have one more category...what could it be short for...?
Olivia to T: Oh, miscellaneous...could be anything there, all kind of junk, like they have a cabbage patch doll for $50.
Jacqueline exclaims: Fifty dollars for a cabbage patch doll! That's cheap!
T to group: All four (i.e., Sophie, Olivia, Jacqueline, and Hannah) of you have a special challenge-find out what it would cost to put in the ad. I thought we could write ads and then if some come out particularly good, we can put them in the class paper. Next week, we will learn how to write a business letter.
The assignment is to write your own add...any category...write a letter to the Chicago Tribune...please put it in...if you do well on that you can have a more serious ad in our (class) paper

10:00 Sophie and Jacqueline leave the room to go get food to eat as a snack (This is not part of class procedure and lunch is not until 11:30.).
T to Sophie and Jacqueline: Eat, and then come back to work.
T to Olivia (Observing her following Sophie and Jacqueline): No, Olivia, you had breakfast.
Olivia to T: I didn't have breakfast!
T to Olivia: You can eat after Jacqueline if you are still hungry.
Olivia stands for awhile beside my loft, pounding her fist on the nearby desk (an expression of utter frustration on her face.)
10:05 Shortly thereafter, all small groups break up, and several boys (Carl, John, Hernando, and Adam) climb into the loft with me.

Each of the 5th through 8th grades at Oak Lawn has more than one class. Except for grade 5 (5A and 5B), pupil composition in the grade levels, 8-1 to 8-2, 7-1 to 7-3, and 6-1 to 6-3, appears to be determined by prior assessment of ability and achievement. Preparatory to life in high school, the 6-8th grade level classes in middle school rotate for instruction. Therefore, apart from homeroom, on any given morning students typically have five teachers. On the day (10/7/83) of this observation, for example, the 6-3 class had the following schedule prior to lunch and recess: 8:25-9:03 Reading (1st period); 9:12-9:53 Gym (2nd period); 9:56-10:37 Music (3rd period); 10:41-11:21 Science (4th period); 11:24-12:04 Math (5th period). English, Social Studies, and French language instruction were also designated morning instructional activities at other times and grade levels. Importantly, the class remained intact during these activities, but the teachers and classrooms changed.

Black students at Oak Lawn tended to be concentrated in levels 2 and 3, rather than level 1. For example, in February, approximately 6 of the 12 counted children in 6-2 (50%), and 6 of 12-13 counted children in 6-3 (about 50%), but only 5 of the 17 counted children in 6-1 (29%), were black. Observations suggested little difference in the teaching styles used at each level (Level 7-3 was never scheduled by administrators for observations), but children at higher levels appeared to require less explanation, and were generally more precise in their responses to teachers' questions. In addition, more minor discipline problems were observed at lower levels. These students, for example, were more likely to doodle on the back of tests, to be found to have materials on their desks when a teacher had clearly requested that all books be removed, and to be more fidgety in their seats (e.g., making "break dance" movements). Specifically, at lower levels, students demonstrated more "off-task" behaviors. The one observed altercation between two students in 30 half-day observations occurred in a 6-3 class. Teachers at the lower levels, therefore, spent slightly more time disciplining students. Conversely, observations revealed no tendency for more black girls or boys to be in higher or lower levels. Black students at the higher levels within grade tended not to have close ties with other blacks in that grade; rather, observed friendships, if sustained, were sustained at the level of the grade in which they were enrolled. Generally, the overall structure of the schooling experiences of the children in middle school encourages strong peer ties with classmates within grade level. The fact that Oak Lawn is not a neighborhood school, and that students have assigned lunchroom seats (rotated at intervals throughout the school year) further buttresses this situation.

In contrast, at Monroe, a much smaller school, there is only one 6th grade, which is combined with 5th grade, and students remain in the same classroom, except for special activities, throughout the day. Further, time at Monroe is partitioned differently. For example, during the preceding observational day (1/25/84), prior to lunch and recess, Monroe children had the following schedule: 8:35-10:05 Math and Language Arts; 10:05-10:45 Individual Work; 10:45-11:25 Science. Teachers signalled the change in activity with the passage of time by making whole class announcements. No bells sound, as at Oak Lawn, where students know they typically have three minutes to reach their next class (or change activity within class if they do not rotate classrooms).

At Monroe, 8 of the 11 6th graders were black (73%), six of whom were black girls. In the total class, out of 24 children, 75% were black. Informal seating arrangements suggested that children separated themselves by grade level and sex, but not by race. For example, all 5th grade boys usually sat together in the southeastern section of the classroom, while 6th grade boys sat in the northwestern section (During recess, however, boys at all grade levels, 5-8, tended to play together in some organized sport. A comparable situation was sometimes observed at gym at Oak Lawn when 5-6th grade children shared the same time.), There were no assigned seats during lunch at Monroe, and the children frequently changed seats during the classroom day for specific instructional activities. Generally, however, at Monroe, friendship ties were sustained within grade despite the fact that 5-6th and 7-8th grade classes are combined, that Monroe is more of a neighborhood school, and that the organization of school classrooms permits children considerably more choice about whom they will spend time with.

The preceding Oak Lawn observational record is representative of how classes were conducted in middle school. Teachers typically began class by making announcements, emphasizing how the time would be used, referring to a homework or test assignment, and then settling in to call upon students to give answers to teacher-posed questions. Often teachers permitted students to exchange papers for grading and computation of final scores as correct answers to questions about quizzes or written homework assignments were announced. Observational records revealed that nonblack students seemed to more often query teachers about test/homework directions and procedures, but black students appeared no less interested in the teachers' responses to student queries.

In the above session, every student was queried by the teacher at least once and, given the class size, typically more than once. This is normative teacher behavior in the Oak Lawn classes. Observations revealed few to no instances in which students were not attending to teacher-directed lessons. Students raised their hands to answer questions, and black students typically had as much opportunity as others to respond. However, teachers were not lavish with praise when correct answers were offered; rather they "nodded," and/or said "good" or "correct," and/or continued by calling upon another student. Teachers appeared to expect that every student had enough knowledge of the subject matter to offer some correct answers during the class period, and most usually did.

Students seemed very invested in whether they gave correct answers. For example, in the preceding session Richard, a black student, became especially annoyed with himself when he make some errors; in contrast, Thomas' pride in his successful performance, spilled over into the class, thus causing him to recognize that he had temporarily and inadvertently violated a behavioral norm against such classroom outbursts. The teacher, indirectly acknowledging his embarrassment, ignored the violation and also reaffirmed that he had performed well.

Teacher emphasis was upon whether each individual student could respond correctly. No exceptions to this norm were made by race of child. Students were individualized, if individualized, for especially high quality performance (e.g. Thomas) on an assignment. As in Carrie's case, teachers discouraged inter-student competition, and instead, stressed competition with oneself. As a result, several instances were observed when students actually cheered on the performance of another student; many students appeared to want other students to perform as well as they wished to perform themselves. In short, aside from school classroom organization and adult teaching strategies, peers encouraged and fostered a student's involvement in classroom life at Oak Lawn. In classes, black students at Oak Lawn, were literally "swept up" and automatically included in the entire instructional activity. Of course, this active involvement was an important source of student achievement motivation.

In the classes observed at Monroe, black students were fifty percent or better of the students; therefore, the question of their classroom participation and involvement was essentially one of how students generally participate. The preceding observational record is an excellent example.

Monroe students' feelings about life in the classroom, either in relation to other students, their teachers, or classroom events and activities were accepted. Teachers allowed the students to be "childlike," but always made an effort to guide them toward more "mature" behavior. There are several examples of this normative behavior in the preceding observation. The teacher accepts that Adam does not want to "publish" his ad, but reminds him that he still must follow through on the assignment; the teacher acknowledges that Olivia wants to make friends, but tries to direct her to a more socially productive way of accomplishing this goal; the teacher acknowledges Anna's interest in offering a name for the class newspaper, but invites her to obtain the views of other children about her idea; and finally, the teacher stresses that Olivia must learn that she cannot do everything that other children do when they do it, just because she wants to. Teachers also make their own personal preferences known: Gum-chewing is permitted in the school, but Mrs. Trema doesn't like it and demands that Sophie remove the gum before the math lesson; Mrs. Meyer subtly tells both Hernando and Olivia that she personally objects to their behavior (i.e., leaning back in the chair; speaking out before one's turn). Not so subtly, Mrs. Meyer also lets her group of 6th grade girls know that she does not like their "quarrelsome" behavior.

Observations revealed that direct challenges to teachers' authority were usually the expression of children's feelings about relationships, rather than strictly classwork or the merits of particular assignments. Few of even the most vociferous confrontations were persistent, primarily because children's feelings were generally acknowledged and respected when they were expressed. Therefore, interactions, and even some confrontations, between students and teachers served to strengthen ties between them, ties which were essentially family-like. In the preceding observation, Olivia asks if the observer (i.e., guest) had seen "our crickets;" no child laughs when Hernando falls--that is not how one treats family members who are hurting, and so on. In such a setting, the more socially competent, but not necessarily sociable, children had more productive interactions with both teachers and peers, but every student participated and was involved in life in the classroom.

In conclusion, some similarities between the experiences of both Oak Lawn and Monroe students should be noted. Students at both schools know what they are expected to do. At Monroe, weekly work assignments are distributed; children may work at their own individual pace to complete the projected assignments. At any given time, students may not be officially "on task" but they each know what they must complete by the week's end. Accordingly, the teacher greets her "co-workers" at the start of each new day in the preceding Monroe observation by shaking their hands (a part of the school's Montessori tradition). Further, in the Monroe example the teacher reminds Lena that she is spending a bit too much time "off task." Second, at both schools, students know the classroom routine. There was an instance at Oak Lawn where a teacher was reminded to read the "morning report!" (A daily ritual which occurs during second period.) In the preceding Monroe observation, Sophie and Jacqueline discuss how or why it is that Dinah is having an extended conference with the teacher on a day that is not usually designated as a conference day. Third, skill-building is approached through the use of small group problem-solving sessions in which children have first attempted to solve the problems themselves and then collectively share answers, as well as how they reached those answers.

At Oak Lawn, student participation and involvement in school life beyond the classroom are closely associated with student academic achievement. Therefore, it is discussed in the following section. Conversely, at Monroe student participation and involvement are closely tied to peer judgements of the child's social competence. Therefore, it is discussed in the last section on student identity.

## Student Achievement

Following are two observational records which focus primarily upon how first Oak Lawn, and second Monroe faculty attempt to motivate students to give their best efforts. At Oak Lawn, the class is a 7th grade Science class; at Monroe it is a 7-8th grade Social Studies class.

### Background Information

1. School: Oak Lawn
2. Date: Tuesday, October 11, 1983
3. Observer: RWL
4. Class: Mr. Martin's 7th grade
5. Students: There are 18 students, 5 of whom are black. There are 3 black boys, and 2 black girls. There are 7 nonblack boys, and 6 nonblack girls. One focal child, Matthew, is in this class. The names of the black children are: Carl, Theresa, James, Matthew, and Bertha. The names of the nonblack children are: Judy, Marie, George, Karen, Lydia, Louis, Peter, Margaret, Paula, Robert, Clyde, Norman, and David.
6. Mr. Martin is a male teacher, mid to late 30's in age, about 5'8" tall, and weighing about 170 lbs. He has short, sandy blonde hair and a moustache. Mr. Martin is a very direct, authoritative teacher who, despite this demeanor, has an excellent rapport with the students.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
   A. Subject Matter Focus: Science
   B. Observation Time: 9:12-9:53, 2nd period
   C. Instructional Level: 7-1; top level of the 3 in grade 7
   D. Instructional Strategy: Whole class
   E. Materials: Book, chalkboard, homework papers
8. Narrative Description of Physical Setting: Mr. Martin's room is located on the west side of the second floor of the middle school building in the middle of the floor. I arrive with the students and introduce myself. Mr. Martin knows who I am and says I can sit in the rear (north) of the room next to the fans. This is obviously a science room. Instead of the usual seats, the children sit in seats at low lab tales. At the front of the room is the lab table that the T uses. Books, a file cabinet, an overhead projector and papers are also in the front of the room at the east end of the T's lab table. At the rear of the room (south) are several lab animals, including fish, lab equipment, books

and a fan to minimize the odor from the animals. Student Council notes are posted on the wall behind the T's lab table, to the west end.

## Narrative

T reads the morning (daily) report. (Morning reports are always read during second period.) T emphasizes the Tootsie Roll drive. (It seems that the drive covers student activity expenses for the particular grade that raises the money.)

T to class: Ok, note board. I had a problem with the other class. The questions on these pages (pp. 43, 52, 53 and points to note board) were due. This is a lab class and its a little different; we've been going slow to get you accustomed to this type of class. There is a test tomorrow. You need this. I only want you to try them. Is this an education for me; (referring apparently, to children being at Oak Lawn), Carl? (I can't see or hear student's response.) You! Can I force you to do this? No. I don't like checking this and don't want to get to this. If you don't (understand) be aware of the times I'm available for extra help. (The above is not complete. It was impossible to get all of T's statement because he talks fast. He was obviously very disappointed and upset about the students' failure to do the assignment. T tells students that if they have not tried the homework problems, they must have their parents sign the note on the board and return it.)

T continues to class: You only have to try these because if you did them you'd be doing algebra and we don't expect you to do algebra yet. It's interesting though that some of you can do this. Why don't we expect you to do algebra? T calls on students for answer. (I can't see which ones. Some children make a mistake and misunderstand question. Finally someone answers that algebra is taken in 8th grade.) T to class: If you need a note, tell me when I call your name. T adds comments about the importance of honesty. T places a note on the board: "I have not completed questions on pp. 43, 52 and 53." (Interestingly, T does not check to see if students actually have the homework done. He takes their word for it. It is impossible for me to tell if the students are telling the truth. Some are because they tell T they need a note. T is obviously a well respected teacher to be able to exert this kind of influence.)

T misunderstands David and Bertha and he corrects his grade book to reflect that they don't need notes. Matthew needs a note as do several others.
T to class: Give me the note tomorrow signed by your parents.

T begins to call on students in order of their seating asking questions about the day's lesson.
T to class: Units for acceleration are unit/time/time. T expands on measurement of acceleration. (This must not be the first time this calculation was discussed. Class seems to have a fairly good grasp of the topic.)

9:30 All on task including Matthew.
Student (?) calls T's attention to a mistake about keeping the same system for time in a particular problem.
T to class: I didn't think about that. That's unusual for me.

T (continuing lesson) to class: What's a newton?
T calls on Louis: Louis? Louis explains newton.
T to class: I'd write that down (i.e., Louis' explanation) in a notebook.
T calls on Theresa. (I didn't hear her comment.)
T to class: Question 4.
Clyde, Robert, Paula, and David respond.

(T has an interesting style of dealing with children's answers to questions. When a student answers, T asks How many agree? How many disagree? For answers that are correct T adds some of the time, "I'd write these definitions in my book." Thus, T places strong emphasis on students' taking responsibility for their learning.)

T to class: These questions (following) are an opportunity to try the math part of what you've learned. Ok, let's go over them. Question 1? Bertha?
T calls on two other students (Neither Bertha nor the other two students answer correctly).
T goes over problem step by step. T writes on board:

$$1\text{kg} \times \frac{98\text{ m/sec}}{\text{sec}} = \frac{98\text{ kg m/sec}}{\text{sec}}$$

T continuing to class: You should write these in your notebook. You may need these for the exam. Question 2? Bertha?
Bertha doesn't answer.

T to Bertha: Using this formula we are doing algebra, Bertha. (It seems that this statement is used to both explain what is involved in solving the problem as well as to amplify the difficulty of the problem in an attempt to minimize - not maximize - the frustration of Bertha and others).

T to class: Any time you're working (I can't hear) what are you working with? Peter? Peter answers correctly.
T continuing to class: And if you are working with (I can't hear) and you are given _______, what can you find? (I can't hear) That's algebra. Are you supposed to do algebra?
Class to T: No!
T to class: You can do it if you don't know it. As soon as you think its algebra you can't do it.

T gives an example from first grade. In the first grade T had them graphing, but they didn't know it.
T gives lecture about knowing you're doing something and deciding you can't do it versus doing something when you don't know what it is.

9:45 All on task including Matthew.

(T talks more than any of the T's previously encountered at Oak Lawn. Further, he seems to seize every opportunity to teach about other ideas -attitudes about life, learning, confidence, etc. It seems he seizes every opportunity to teach not only about science but non-science issues as well. The children seem to understand and accept his comments.)

T continues with use of example of recoil of gun to explain Newton's third law. T talks about his father's gun collection which includes his grandfather's guns. Makes a point about these guns' recoil. Also talks about colonial guns and their recoil.

T to class: Question 5. What do you know automatically you're looking for in this problem?
T calls on George who answers correctly. Norman and Peter also explain correctly when they are called upon.
T to class: Question 6. T calls on (?) and David. They answer correctly.
T to class: Question 7. T calls on Louis whose answer is partly correct and T explains further.

T to class: Check on that (i.e., question 7). We'll go over it before the test. Remember, we have a test tomorrow. Make sure you have your notebooks up to date. Ok! Let's go. (This is said in a rapid fire manner; I am not clear as to how notebooks are to be used.)

## Background Information

1. School: Monroe
2. Date: Wednesday, February 29, 1984
3. Observer: DTS
4. Class: Mrs. Litowitz' 7-8th grade
5. Students: There are 19 students in this class; 12 are present for this session. Two black boys, 2 black girls, two non-black boys, and one nonblack girl are missing. Present are: 5 black boys: Darryl, Ronald, Harold, Harry, and Thad; 2 black girls: Cheryl and Laura; 2 nonblack boys: Joseph and Dan; and 2 nonblack girls: Maria and Karen. The focal children in this class are: Cheryl, Melanie, and Darryl (8th graders), and Ronald and Harry (7th graders). Aside from Ronald and Harry, Peter, Ann, Martha, Jack, Harold, Laura, and James are 7th graders; all others are 8th graders.
6. Teacher: Mrs. Litowitz is about 5'3" tall, of sturdy medium build, with heavy, shoulder-length black hair and Semitic features and skin tones. She is attractive, appears to be in her mid to late 30's. After being reared in a fairly ordinary lower middle class Chicago family, she attended Oberlin College during the Vietnam era. Presently she is a divorced single parent of a school-aged daughter. This responsibility has caused her to assume significant administrative duties at Monroe to supplement family in

come. However, teaching is her first love. She has been teaching at Monroe for 6 years, since coming from a public suburban school system in the midwest. At present, she is a co-teacher, though the most experienced, in grade 7-8, focusing in the areas of history, civics, and the social sciences generally.

7. Basic Classroom Information:
   - A. Subject Matter Focus: Social Science
   - B. Observation Time: 10:30-11:34
   - C. Instructional Level: No within grade or between grade distinctions.
   - D. Instructional Strategy: Whole group
   - E. Materials: Chalkboard; student papers on "Drafting a Law."
8. Narrative Description of Physical Setting: This classroom is located on the first floor of Monroe, windows facing north. The room contains many areas and items because it is used daily for all 7-8th grade activities except art and music, computer and library instruction, and gym and recess. It is also used for lunch and in-door recess. Children put their coats, bookbags, etc. in hall lockers. Entrance to the room is at the western most corner. It is quite large, and off to the southeastern corner is another much smaller room containing encyclopedic materials. Above the room to the left of the door is a larger loft which can also serve as a private area for students.
   In the southwestern corner of the room, on the western wall, is a chalkboard; two adjoining rectangular tables capable of seating 8-12 students are immediately east of the chalkboard. The southern wall contains windows, shelves, posters, other movable seat/desk units. The northern area of the room typically contains two rectangular tables each with seats for 6-8 students. Eastern windows face these tables, and a record player is typically located on the southeastern shelf. The northeastern portion of the room contains the entrance to the adjoining room; the stairwell to the loft; two rectangular tables, each capable of seating 6-8 students; and an area containing the teacher's file cabinets, bulletin boards, etc. The northwestern portion contains, aside from the classroom door, two aquariums, cabinets, kitchen sink and culinary supplies (e.g., toaster, microwave), garbage can, other book shelves and bulletin boards.

   Usually, for observations I sit where I have a full view of the room; on a low chair opposite a wall in between windows on the southern wall. Radiators jut out from beneath these windows and 1-2 students often sit atop them, instead of at tables, during whole group lessons. However, for this session, given the location of the semi-circled group for the class meeting, I sit just in front of the northern-most wall, just past the alcove containing teacher's file cabinets and desk to the west, and the computer to the east. This is a good location for listening, but I cannot always see the facial expressions of a speaker.

## Narrative

10:30 Mrs. Litowitz enters the classroom.
Cheryl to Mrs. L. (Who will be teacher (T) for this hour.): Melanie (an absent black girl) wasn't sick when I called her at home last night!
T to Cheryl: What's wrong with her?
Cheryl to T: Loose (Cheryl makes circling motion with her fingers to the left of her head, as if to say "crazy.")

T to class: Listen, please, do any of you have parent-conference notes? Thad, Laura, Ronald and some others leave the table to go to their bookbags to get a sheet of paper. T points to Harold and tells him to move his desk to the left of her (Possibly to avoid overcrowding at the opposite side of the table.).

T to class: Okay, I'll put these on the board (after summarizing previous comments of earlier presenters-presumably in another class).
Note: The following positions are placed on the board by T:
"Spur Town Council (position): Texas should send welfare to those who move. Individual must apply for welfare.
Marysville Town Council: Persons may not move into Marysville unless they can prove they have a job or 12 months support prior to receiving permission to move in. Penalties: 30-days in jail; send back to original state.
Texas Legislature: No one may leave without job in the new state-to be enforced by border patrol. Unemployed (to be) offered military service or job training to be paid for by loan from the U.S. govt. Trainees repay when they get jobs which will be created in Texas."

T to class: Let's hear from the legislature of the state of California (i.e., the group representing the state of California). Who's that? Dan? Darryl to T: Dan is not here.
Dan: I am here, Darryl!
T to class: Just a minute! I am going to ask whether or not you people have an agreed-upon law...
Darryl to T: Yes...
T to Darryl, Dan, Joseph, and Harold: The four of you are the legislature of the state of California and if three of you agree, that is a majority...I will allow you (Dan) to present an alternative-a minority report. So Darryl, you present yours, ok...

Darryl to T: Tell me again what we were supposed to do?
T to Darryl: Tell the problem...write a law, explain how it would be enforced, penalty...
Darryl outlines the majority of the group's view in a very slow, deliberate manner.

10:40 Class continues with first Darryl's and then Joseph's presentation on how the law should be structured in California-the gist of their presentations is that they think people should have to stay for a year before applying for welfare.
Harry (chuckling) to class: They will be dead by then!

Karen to Darryl and others: So what are they going to use for money (i.e., in the meantime)? (A lively discussion ensues...)
T to Darryl: So you have to live in California before you can apply for welfare...
Joseph to T: When you get there, you have to apply for a card--a welfare card. Then after you've been there a year, you can apply but you have to...
T to Joseph: ...So a punishment--if you commit a crime during that year, that make's you ineligible for welfare...
Joseph, Darryl (nodding): Yeah...
The class gets involved in a lively discussion, partly initiated by Cheryl's questions as to what would happen if a person worked during the year while waiting for the welfare card to be useful,
etc., thus building upon the comments of Harry, Karen, and others. The students focus on how to regulate the use, misuse of cards.

T to class: I think its important to pursue questions that follow the line of the problem...we go off on a lot of tangents...how to solve the problem of these poor migrants...
Cheryl continues to disagree...and T restates her position.
Darryl and his group continue to explain terms and conditions of their "law."
Joseph to T: Are you saying it would be easy to see who was forging a card because they'd have records of who had the card (i.e., presumably up to that time)?
T to class (for the third time trying to move the group away from focusing on penalties): Let's assume there are very good methods...Let's focus on how this law (i.e., the proposed California state law developed by the students) solves the problem of someone who leaves Texas and comes to California and has no money and no job. Does it solve the problem? For whom? Which side of the problem? Those are the questions you guys need to zero in on...

Maria to T: I don't think it solves...because I wouldn't have any money to live on during that (first) year (i.e.,in California, after arriving from Texas, applying for card, and waiting for it to become valid).
Darryl, Joseph try to defend their position. (Discussion which leads to provisions offered in other versions, e.g., Spur Town Council version)

T to class: We need to stick with the topic we're on. We just have one more report, the minority report and then (the report from) the U.S. Congress, and then there should be time to discuss the relative merits of the five (reports)...Harry?
Harry to T: I've got a question about that. (Referent not clear)
T to Harry: You gotta wait, okay, are we ready for the minority report?

10:49 Dan begins giving provisions of his minority report to the class.
Dan to class: Point 1. Only new residents of California must obtain a card (work permit)...Point 2. The card is valid for

four weeks; after that they must leave if (they have) no job, or be arrested for loitering... Class laughter, T gasps...
Dan continuing to class: Point 3. Cards are to be available at any public post office. Point 4. No place of business must accept any application for a job without the card.
Other points 6-7 introduced by Dan govern regulations of welfare eligibility, length of residence, amount of work, etc.
(T's questions to Dan cover details of what he has specified. Student questions also follow this theme. At this time, no talk of what this would mean for persons.)

T asks for final report. Ronald gives this, emphasizing that the U.S. Congress would act to create more jobs. This is followed by a lively discussion as to how the creation of jobs would affect welfare, a discussion which the teacher aide (present from his work as a substitute in the prior hour) also enters. Harry and others have some objections; Cheryl, finally, exasperated states to class: How are you going to get welfare to pay for everything!...Everytime you ask Ronald something, well who's goin' to pay for it (he says) the welfare, the welfare...!
(Class is very excited; lot of persons talking at once.)

11:05 Added to blackboard by T: "California: Must live 1 year in California to qualify for legislature. Register when you move in. U.S. Government: Create more jobs across country. Increase military jobs. Reallocate welfare dollars to job creation."
T to class: Let's quiet down, okay. Ultimately we said it was Darryl and Karen's job to make some judgement about which law they think solved the problem best...We need to do some summarizing here. I think that every single group made a good effort...expecially given that its the first time you heard of the problem and that we're doing this in preparation for learning about the Constitution and the legal process, not after you've already worked on it...operated...where you didn't have a lot of facts...I think all of you did a pretty good job...

T continues to class repeating the problem, asks students to think about which law came closest the solving the problem. States that the situation really happened in the 1930's due to worldwide depression and the drought which turned southwestern topsoil to dust...points out that a similar situation now prevails in West Africa, that this is frequently natural disaster problem in the world.
T to class: The two disasters combined to create a situation in which a whole lot of people had no way to support themselves...moved to California in hopes of finding jobs, and there were not enough jobs to go around.
11:12 Peter's mother appears at door, announcing that she is dropping off his work (Peter is home sick, I think.)
T invites students to comment on the laws on the board, given this story, as to which one(s) best address the problem as she has currently stated it.
Dan to T: I think the Texas law is quite good...
(T asks why, and he replies, but I cannot hear.)

Other students discuss the laws on the blackboard.

Teacher aide to class: I want to ask the Texas group...Do you think you can control that border without people leaving (i.e., crossing it)? Do you think someone is going to tolerate that?
T to class: Would any of you want to change the law you made or one of the others? (More discussion)
T continues to class: Ronald's solution is not far off relative to what happened, as far as World War II and the employment of military contributing to the end of the Depression...

11:17 T gives Darryl and Karen five minutes to go off and decide upon the law(s) best solving the problem.
11:24 Karen to T and class: Okay, we both thought Marysville and California Town Council go together...We think it's good to be able to go to work for the army during peace time...Texans should not be sending money to California...

Class continues with a discussion of other, potentially-revenue generating efforts: lower prices, raising business taxes, taxes on luxuries. T speaks in general terms of how these factors operate in the society today as well as in recent history since World War II (I don't think she expects students to absorb this material, but is simply trying to demonstrate how these factors govern our lives today--the point of her lesson has already been made re: introduction to how law-making in the government works.)

11:30 T concludes the session by observing that the current President has stated that given the deficit, inflation, high interest rates, military falling apart, etc., everyone cannot get what they want, so it's clear that poor people, the unemployed people, will be the losers...At least one student (Dan) says that is not what he (i.e., the President) said. T affirms that is exactly what he said, and that she simply repeated it to make the overall problem that has been discussed more personal to the class.
Harry to class: Well, the rich people, they have the money, they're making the money, so they don't have to worry about it.

The preceding observations demonstrate that black and nonblack students were active participants in the lessons, and that both teachers worked hard to achieve student involvement. However, the two preceding observational records are not as representative as the first two records of daily interactions between black students and teachers at Oak Lawn and Monroe. Most black students at Oak Lawn were not in the top level of each grade; whole class instructional activity was relatively rare at Monroe. The records were selected for discussion for another reason: The core values in each school regarding student achievement are demonstrated extremely well in the student-teacher dialogues.

Classroom observations at Oak Lawn and Monroe indicated few teachers were as explicit about their personal and social values as Mr. Martin and Mrs. Litowitz. Both teachers were aware that in this respect they were unusual. However, both teachers were also aware of what classroom observation and interview data revealed: They commanded considerable respect from students and other faculty.

Both schools stressed that the student mustbe personally responsible for learning. However, the records reveal just how complex a process that is construed to be within each school culture. Mr. Martin made several points to his students in the preceding Oak Lawn observation. First, he told them that this was their education, that they must take responsibility for seeking help when they did not understand a concept, and that he would be available to help them if they judged that they needed help. Second, he told the students that Oak Lawn expects students to try or attempt difficult work, even if they have trouble with it. At Oak Lawn not attempting schoolwork is just unacceptable, no matter how difficult it is perceived to be. Third, he offered strategies to the students for attempting difficult work: keep a record of correct answers, and of how correct answers were obtained; ask yourself what do you know already about a difficult posed problem; think about what others have to say about the problem, and decide whether or not you agree or disagree and why, and so on. Fourth, he placed the students on an "honor" system. They were expected to tell him whether or not they had attempted to do the work, knowing full well that in many instances the consequences of revealing that they had not tried might not be good because he had already announced that he planned to have those students ask their parents to sign a note indicating that the parents knew the work had not been attempted. In short, students were made aware that they should be prepared to assume the consequences of all of their behaviors, whether those behaviors be conforming or not to the school's core values. Finally, he reminded students that they should never be dismayed (and, by inference,enthralled) by designated labels when evaluating what they can or cannot accomplish. In this instance, the issue is not whether they can "do algebra," but whether they can solve the particular presented problems. In one form or another, these themes were reiterated throughout Oak Lawn's middle school. They constituted the microsystemic socialization context to which black students were routinely exposed.

At Monroe, Mrs. Litowitz used a different approach to motivate student achievement. Her immediate goal was to teach students about law-making and the Constitution in American democracy. Ratherthan focusing on the individual student's responsibility for mastery of the presented material, she began by focusing on the students' intuitive knowledge. Prior to this lesson, the students had been told of a social problem, and of the various political constituencies who would be naturally concerned about the problem. Students were then subdivided into smaller groups representing the various constituencies and required to draft a piece of legislation which would address the problem. Other students would discuss the advantages and disadvantages of what each group produced. In short, an experiential element was immediately introduced into the assignment. For example, students learned about what constitutes a "minority report," partly from what Dan had to do when he disagreed with other members (Darryl and Joseph) of his group.

During the lesson, Mrs. Litowitz had to refocus the students several times, indicating how difficult the overall assignment was for them. She assumed responsibility for encouraging the students to think clearly and pointedly about the problem: Do the variously proposed laws and regulations help to solve the social problems created by the influx of poverty-stricken migrants to another state? She treated all views offered by students, however unrealistic/absurd, as valid, important perspectives, ignoring students (e.g., Cheryl) who frequently responded affectively, to some of the absurdities that developed, and instead encouraging students to offer reasons for their feelings of agreement or disagreement with presenters. In fact, an example of what she could have done, but did not do, is offered by the teacher aide when he asked one group of students whether they would reasonably expect such a proposed law could ever be enforced. In addition, she praised all students for their efforts to apply their intuitive understandings to the problem; that is, she respected the process by which students attempted to find solutions, whether that process eventuated in a correct answer or not. In the concluding portion of the lesson, Mrs. Litowitz placed the problem in a historical context for the students, describing the drought of the 1930's, and invited them to reevaluate proposed laws in view of this and other associated causes. Then she attempted to inform students as to what actually did happen in a similar, real-life situation in America, and finally, to make the situation more personal to their immediate lives, she introduced the problems associated with unemployment today. In summary, after students had been introduced experientially to the problem, she introduced facts about the problem, earlier historical solutions, and concluded with her own personal views, acknowledged as such, about the meaning of this content for the students today.

This observation reveals many persistent themes found throughout observation and interview data obtained from Monroe school: the value of intuitive knowledge and understandings; the importance of group discussion as a vehicle for children's learning to think; the importance of accepting and using children's feelings to guide the development of the reasoning process; and finally, the importance of adults' personal views as stimulants to teaching and learning. This is the microsystemic socialization context that black students experience at Monroe.

Monroe shares with Oak Lawn a high value for considering alternative views and perspectives, and an emphasis upon the significance of praising children for the process of attempting problems, whether or not a correct answer is ultimately obtained. The schools differ in the continuum of perspectives supported. Though adult parent and faculty views at both schools overlap, Monroe has a larger continuum of "liberal" perspectives, Oak Lawn a larger continuum of "conservative" perspectives. Further, though both schools highly value the problem-solving process, they differ in the significance attached to "correct answers." Oak Lawn is much more exacting and definite than Monroe about what is or is not ultimately correct. Monroe tends to stress the relativity and highly social nature of all "truths." Adult authority in relation to children and interpersonal peer relations assume quite different behavioral forms in such dissimilar learning environments.

To Oak Lawn children, educational authority lies indisputably with their teachers. Despite, for example, the considerable time and effort devoted to quizzes, tests, and grading, during the observations only three instances were identified where black children openly questioned evaluations. In one case, an eighth grade black boy was overheard to say he believed he deserved a B- instead of the presumably lower grade received. In another, some black eighth graders confided to the observer that they "knew" that some children were dishonest when left to privately evaluate and grade their own notes and workbooks and then report the results to teachers. In the third, a seventh grade black student questioned the need for the range of grades (A+ to D-) given by a teacher at the conclusion of a marking period: "Did you have to go that far?" Class peers immediately silenced the student, commenting that it (i.e., the grading range and procedure for establishing it) was none of his business.

Nonblack students also rarely questioned grading procedures, though many students appeared not to like grading on a "curve." In one observed instance a student openly grumbled in class that a particular teacher's grades kept him off the honor roll. The teacher immediately replied that it was his (i.e., the student's) fault if he could not make the honor roll.

Observations revealed many instances in which these students sought clarification about evaluation procedures, both prior to and during quizzes and tests. Though this form of information-seeking was usually initiated by nonblack students, black students behaved similarly.

In contrast to the student-initiated behavior, observational records revealed many instances of teacher-initiated behavior to students about the quality of their homework, quiz, and test performances and the implications for learning. Much of the classroom dialogue centered on how to get correct answers, what those answers were, how many points each answer would contribute to the final quiz or test score, grades, and procedural definitions associated with taking the exams. Observed teachers were very concerned that all students perform as well as possible: (Teacher 1) "I'm not enthusiastic about these tests; nobody got a perfect score in either class." (Teacher 2) "Ok, can you be more specific; it sounded as if it was copied right out of the book (to a black student)...(and later to a nonblack student) You're reading something. Take it from the book and put it in your own words. That way you learn it." (Teacher 3) "I told you you could finish (the exam) today so I'll give you a little more time. Please check your work and make sure all of the answers are in the right place. That leaves us with three days to review before exams...(to a nonblack student who failed to write neatly enough for T to check answers) I hate it when you put me in this position! (and to a black student who also didn't follow directions) Someday you'll learn to read!..." (Teacher 4) I told you this was difficult, but every now and then I must give a test which separates the men from the boys (spoken by a female teacher to a coed class). Whenever you take a test, go through (it) and do what you know. This is for any test." Importantly, since grades are not cumulative from one marking period to another, the evaluation procedures served as perpetual sources of social control of both student and teacher behaviors.

Oak Lawn students, for example, were offered opportunities to evaluate the performances of their teachers. Students were keenly aware of the efforts teachers made to give them the amount of individual feedback about schoolwork that they regularly gave. Even one identified academically poorer black student told the observer, for example, that she preferred Oak Lawn to a public school because "It is not easy..." A teacher commented to the observer that, given the absence of any bargaining union, working conditions for teachers were virtually "masochistic" (According to the headmaster, student loyalties to teachers have even extended to an orderly school-wide boycott to urge retention of an upper-school teacher whose teaching had been judged by the students to be outstanding. The teacher was subsequently given another contract). Once observed focus on teacher performance led to student-initiated discussions of teachers' salaries, particularly comparisons of salaries of Oak Lawn teachers with those of public school teachers. Teacher attitudes about the teacher evaluations conveyed high respect for student opinions. These attitudes further engendered students' respect and loyalty to both their teachers and the school. At least one eighth grade teacher was overheard encouraging students to take the teacher evaluations very seriously. The teacher commented that on at least one prior similar occasion it was not realized how poorly a class was being conducted until students gave their feedback. The teacher also openly stated that the feedback was needed, but if students feared grading reprisals for any of their comments, they should not complete the evaluation forms. This teacher, therefore, urged students to only complete the forms if they felt free enough to respond as objectively as possible.

Oak Lawn's emphasis on precision in written performance and its exacting, thorough grading methods could be frustrating to students who could not keep pace. In an eighth grade class, a nonblack boy was observed to comment in response to a black girl's comment that one recently graduated high schooler was racing cars fulltime: "...Why would our parents spend this money for us to do that...My mother says that I can be whatever I want as long as I'm my own boss..." In response to a sixth-grade teacher's query as to whether the children would want to "see their futures" (as in the "ghost of the future" in The Christmas Carol) a black boy answered enthusiastically: "Yeah, I want to see if I can make millions!" However, another nonblack student jokingly rejoined "Yeah, I want to see if I can get out of Oak Lawn!" Later, in that same class, when another nonblack student was asked to read the part of Scrooge and could not locate his book, the teacher pointedly asked the student how he could do his homework. Surprisingly, class members responded "He doesn't!" adding that this student had similar problems in earlier grades and that "Now its happening again!"

Continuing together as a class over several months, and even years, in the diverse, intense curricular activities enabled children to know well each other's academic strengths and weaknesses. Teachers commented to the observer that although they used the full range of grades possible within each level (e.g., within grade 6 there are levels 1, 2, and 3), more students at higher levels received higher grades. In any event, class peers were observed to voluntarily and enthusiastically clap for a fellow female peer who delivered a particularly good oral report on Canada in grade 8, and to comment that "We got through the whole thing!" in reaction to successful hard rehearsal work on the upcoming Christmas play in grade 6. Achievement at Oak Lawn was often a team effort exercised by class peers, an effort facilitated, according to some teachers, by the shared middle class backgrounds and experiences of the students. As an English teacher commented (Class was working on mneumonic devices): "Use your well-trained ears because you are used to hearing good grammar."

Newer teachers who wanted to also stress the development of divergent thinking skills could also find the emphasis frustrating. One such teacher, obviously striving for an optimal balance, given the within-grade level of students being taught, was observed to have 8-2 students take notes on a filmstrip that would be collected and graded (based on the "goodness" of note-taking), and to somewhat later lecture 8-1 students on the difference between high achievement and creativity. When some students began to justify their approaches to their oral reports, the teacher reminded them that they should not become defensive. Most such exchanges, were initiated by nonblack, rather than black, students, but black students were always attending to such discussions, and were undoubtedly influenced.

Oak Lawn's strong emphasis upon academic excellence predictably impacts student life beyond the classroom. In chapters 8 and 9, parental and faculty perceptions of the role of the home environment were discussed; it was noted that parents are advised early that they are expected to provide optimal study conditions at home, and to participate regularly in designated parental roles and activities. However, it was also noted that parents are not expected to govern the school, nor to visit classrooms except during February. Within the school, peer interactions appeared to be influenced by students' academic achievements.

During 83-84, for example, all but one elected representative to the middle school student council (the faculty advisor was Mr. Martin) was an honor student. The lone exception was a nonblack boy whose father lives in the school community area and is a prominent local politician. However, though several black students were also on the Honor Roll, and a couple were nominated to run for student council membership, none were subsequently elected. Observer impressions were that black students did not always command the social recognition that is typically commensurate upon successful school achievement. One father's interview comments summed up the situation well: "...They give him what he makes, but nothing extra..."

Eighth grade graduation and closing exercises provided an illustrative example. Observations indicated that middle school graduation is a very significant ritual in Oak Lawn's school community life. The school's auditorium appeared to hold 1000-1500 persons, and was completely filled by middle school students, faculty, relatives, and friends, many of whom were black. Thirty-eight students, six of whom were black, belonged to the graduating group. The program included a piano prelude, a formal processional of the eighth grade class, the pledge of allegience and singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner," an extended program of music delivered by middle school students, and prior to presentations of the eighth grade diplomas, presentation of ten different academic awards. The Headmaster, Middle School Principal, Presidents of the influential Mothers and Fathers Clubs, Physical Education Faculty, and several other faculty, were each actively involved in presenting student awards.

Eight of the ten awards were given to eighth graders, but two were given to members of the sixth to eighth grades. Two of the 13 eighth-grade children, a boy and a girl, who received achievement pins for High Honor Roll over the entire year in 83-84 were black. None of the sixth graders, and only one black seventh grader (girl), received a pin. Three other awards were given to black students, two to the same eighth grade boy (Journalism and Student Council Service Awards) who received a High Honor Roll pin, and the third (Art) to the girl who also received a High Honor Roll pin. In short, during the entire ceremony, only three different black students received any awards. Further, two of the three children were brother and sister.

One nonblack parent was overheard to comment about the lone receiving black boy: "Is his father a doctor?" The boy's mother, whose daughter also received a seventh grade pin, commented to the observer that she is "proud everyday" of both of them. Earlier observations of the boy during the school year revealed him to be somewhat of a loner whose contributions to various journalistic prints, including the graduation issue of the '84 "Lawn Times," a paper done entirely on the computer by students, were strikingly poetic, even romantic, in tone. Indeed, his artistic temperament had also won him an acknowledgment for a design cover in connection with the Science Fair. This boy, as did 24 of the 38 graduating students, planned to continue at Oak Lawn's high school. Of the other five black students, two planned high school attendance elsewhere in the city: one at a highly competitive public magnet school, and the other at a similarly competitive Catholic high school.

If graduation at Oak Lawn was distinguished by the elegance of disciplined formality, then graduation at Monroe was distinguished by its reaffirmation of the significance of ordinary, enduring, highly personal relationships, irrespective of pomp and circumstance. The popular folksong sung by an audience of about 100-150 persons with the eight graduates (4 black; 4 nonblack) at the conclusion of the ceremonies had the following words: "So long, it's been good to know you; so long, it's been good to know you; so long, it's been good to know you. It's a long time since I've been gone, and I've got to be drifting along..." During ceremonies, information about individual graduates' length of time at the school, opinions of the school, high school plans, career aspirations, and personal qualities that they would each be remembered for was offered by students. When students described what they liked about Monroe, they referred to the "individual help, attention, and freedom," the "freedom of speech," the special camping trips, and, as one nonblack student commented "liking people who like me..." When describing their perceptions of the school's needs, comments such as "a cafeteria," "a mirror in the boy's bathroom," a gym with a jacuzzi," were made. One nonblack student who had only been at the school for two years observed that she had met the best teachers she had ever had at Monroe.

Eventheorganization of the ceremony affirmed Monroe's commitment to a "common man" approach to education. Graduation ceremonies were held in a nearby auditorium located in a synagogue, the stage of which had been modified to accomodate the current activity. Parents and other relatives, friends, former graduates, and other interested persons arrived first for a reception held in the vestibule, and then gradually and informally drifted into the auditorium between 7 and 7:45 p.m. Prior to the formal processional at 7:45, younger and older

Monroe students actually played with one another behind curtains in the auditorium; only the muted "shyness" of the graduates once the music started indicated that this was a personally special event to them. No special academic or social awards were given to any child; parents contributed a toaster oven to the school (At Oak Lawn, parents contributed computers. It should be noted that Monroe also has computers, but these were not given in the context of the graduation ceremonies; rather, the parental gift was something that even the students could afford to give).

However, the expressed high school plans and career aspirations of the graduates indicated that though this was a "common man" ceremony, the students were certainly not so ordinary. Six of the graduates planned to attend highly respected public high schools in the Chicago area, but two of them (both nonblack) would attend private schools, one in Chicago, and the other an elite boarding school on the east coast. Aspirations offered by the black students included, for example, "own business," "anaesthesiologist or lawyer (offered by the lone black female graduate)," "clinical psychologist," "movie actor, producer, or director;" "lawyer, surgeon, pediatrician, or disc jockey," "doctor, lawyer, poet, or movie star" were offered by the two male nonblack students. Finally, thoughacademic distinctions among students were deemphasized duringthe ceremony,one middle-income black girl scheduled to graduate was judged by faculty to be academically unqualified to receive a diploma from Monroe. She did not attend graduation, but was helped by school faculty to subsequently enroll without an eighth grade diploma at a considerably less academically prestigious public high school than those schools to be attended by graduating black students.

Classroom life at Monroe can initially appear quite chaotic, given its open and nontraditional character. Students have assigned seats,but a classroom floor plan, descriptive of whereteachers and individual students were located could change two to three times within any given 15 minute interval. Teacher-centered instruction was not stressed; therefore, students' time was not sharply demarcated. The transition from one curriculum activity to another occurred gradually upon the teachers' annoncement that a new activity was to begin. Sometimes the activity required a change of room (e.g., art, music, computer lessons, library, remedial reading groups) for all, or just some, children. Children spent considerable time at work on individual projects. Students appeared free to express their observations and opinions on any subject to teachers and peers. The observer had a conversation with a black father who had stopped by to visit a primary grade classroom while the public schools where he normally worked were on strike: The smiling father was both flushed and elated upon leaving the school. He obviously enjoyed his observations of childhood life at Monroe, but expressed concern that his child might need more "discipline" in the middle school years.

During one morning's (3/13/84) observation in the fifth-sixth grade classroom, for example, the range of topics covered in peer conversations that were overheard by the observer included: discussion of previous classroom science work on food chains; plans for current work; comments on one another's immediate social behaviors and personal attitudes; discussions of pets and other classroom objects; spring vacation plans; autographs obtained from various entertainment stars; movies seen; family members and events (e.g., a sister's birthday party); students in other classrooms (Some sixth grade girls were especially interested in some seventh grade boys.); and teasing and the "dozens" (The "dozens" is a verbal work game where two or more children try to best each other as to who can make the most outrageous and humorous remark about the other.).

Teachers encouraged children not to talk during tests and whenever children participated in small or whole group instruction. Even during group instructional activities, some children usually were observed talking with peers. However, teachers strove to keep peer conversations focused on classroom work. Many disciplinary-oriented statements uttered by teachers to children emphasized that peer conversations should be about ongoing classroom work. In short, teachers did not discourage talking; rather, they encouraged children to talk about their school work (e.g., especially skill-building activities, such as solving assigned math problems. The typical classroom observed was always accompanied by the humming sound created by children talking to one another. Teachers were frequently observed to encourage children to talk with one another about their work. The quietest classroom morning observed occurred when the mother of one of the children visited and observedthe fifth-sixth grade class. Students quieted themselves without any teacher request to that effect.

In Monroe classrooms students asked teachers for help with schoolwork, but also about many aspects of life generally. Usually, general questions pertained to concepts or ideas they were currently struggling to understand; children queried their teachers much as most children would query their parents. Students asked teachers to intervene when they perceived themselves to be unnecessarily distracted by other children, or when they wanted teachers to settle disputes. Students sought teachers for comfort when they felt badly, and to announce anything that they felt especially pleased about. If students wanted to positively surprise members of their family, they sought teachers' help. One fifth grade black boy, Carl, devoted half of a morning to designing, drawing, and coloring a birthday card for his mother; he consulted Mrs. Meyer, his teacher about it, and both seemed pleased by his efforts. Students appeared to perceive their teachers as part of their extended families, thus blurring the distinction between home life and life at school. On different occasions, both the 5-6th and the 7-8th grade teachers commented to the observer that the students behaved as if they (i.e., the teachers) had no work of their own to do. In both situations, the teachers had been attempting to do work related to grading student papers and preparing future class activities, essentially work that took their attention away from interacting with one or more students.

However, despite superficial appearances, classroom life at Monroe was neither disorganized or chaotic, just different. In the fifth-sixth grade class, for example, on Mondays students received a weekly work schedule. The schedule consisted of projects to be individually completed by Friday. On Friday, individual conferences (5-10 minutes) were held with each student for purposes of discussing and evaluating the student's work for the week. Mrs. Meyer, the teacher, stated she usually had students complete at least five creative writing projects, in addition to other skill-building assignments, each week. Frequently, the projects were tied to a broader theme or activity toward which the class, as a collective unit, worked for several weeks (e.g., the December 15th Fair on Medieval Life; the Monroe school-wide theme on "Peace."). Another time, Mrs. Meyer commented to the observer that she wanted students to "...have the idea that 'This is *my* work.'" On Friday, Mrs. Meyer sent reports home to each student's parent about work for the preceding week.

Mrs. Meyer commented to the observer that she liked teaching at Monroe in part because parents support the school. By this she meant that most parents expect to work cooperatively with her in support of her style of classroom organization and management. No student could consistently refuse to do weekly schoolwork without parental sanctions. Conversely, each student could tackle the week's work at its own pace, according to its own work style and mood on any given day. Students had time to be with one another; they could use extra time to pursue special interests, do additional related work, and so on. Therefore, Mrs. Meyer herself was observed to impose few stringent negative sanctions, either individually or collectively, upon children. Her authority to govern classroom life was questioned only once during any of the 13 half-days when her particular classroom was observed, despite the fact that she personally gave only one teacher-centered whole class lesson in that entire time period. The open challenge to her authority had nothing to do with school achievement, but rather with who would have the most responsibility for insuring that the child in question (a black girl) was behaving properly in school: the child's mother, or Mrs. Meyer herself.

Of course, older early adolescent students (e.g., 7-8th graders) were most likely to be particularly challenging of adult authority (Third-fourth grade students were typically silenced merely by switching a light switch on and off one or two times!) and, given the nontraditional style of classroom organization and management at Monroe, this was especially true at Monroe. Though much more capable than younger students of executing adult requests without facilitative adult help in organizing their behavior, the seventh-eighth grade students were also more likely to confront adults directly with negative feelings about doing assigned work and even jointly planned activities.

At Monroe, the seventh-eighth grade classroom was fortunate to have two teachers who could empathize, even identify, with the "rebelliousness" of the students. They permitted rock music daily at lunch, classroom posters of various popular stars, such as Michael Jackson, and took the children to a near northside "Peace Museam" sponsored partly by Yoko Ono, widow of John Beatle. In demeanor, one of the two female teachers, Mrs. Harold, given her rapid-fire more "hip" speech, small physical size, and even dress style (jeans, blouses, etc.), was remarkably similar to her students. Aside from the everpresent spector of parental sanctions, this teacher's authority arose from being the leader and most knowledgeable person of the class "group," from the interesting and entertaining stories she shared with students, and the forthright and open way in which she regularly challenged them to cooperate with classroom goals.

At Monroe, those students, black or otherwise, who were competent at resisting social distractions when necessary, and who could spend more study time on individual assignments, were more often identified by their teachers as successful students. However, the social interactions of such students were not necessarily more "mature," nor were these students regularly more "adult-oriented" than others. Therefore, academically talented and less talented students often "learned" from one another. Black students like Olivia and Dwight in grades 5-6, and Martha and Harry in grades 7-8, had special difficulties because they were less socially competent than their peers. Olivia aggrevated peers by her negative commentaries about their behaviors and her frequently inappropriate intrusions (in an effort to seek and perhaps compel friendship ties) into their activities. Children frequently complained that Dwight, a larger, more muscular child, had a body odor that was offensive; he was frequently a "loner." Martha, also a larger student, was suspected by peers of stealing student properties; whether true or not, as a result she did not quite fit into the group or with any consistent subgroups of children. Harry, though well-liked by peers and an active successful interactant in group activities, was similar to Olivia in that he simply could not attend to assigned work when sustained periods of individual study time were expected.

### Student Identity

This study assumed that children's schooling experiences would significantly influence the kinds of persons children would eventually become. It also assumed that what children learn through peer relations, and through the subtle and not so subtle communications of significant adults in school would be a very important aspect of their overall education, for these learning experiences, given the social attitudes and behaviors they come come to value, would subsequently guide how they use the talents being developed. The concluding section of this chapter focuses on findings relative to what children at Oak Lawn and Monroe appear to be learning about themselves as members of cultural communities, and about others as members of culturally different communities. Culture is defined very broadly to include racial, ethnic, and social class membership within American society, as well as the more customary connotations associated with cross-cultural analyses. The first observational record is from Oak Lawn, and the second from Monroe.

## Background Information

1. School: Oak Lawn
2. Date: Thursday, December 22, 1983
3. Observer: RWL
4. Class: Mrs. O'Brien's 8th grade
5. Students: There are 16 students, 7 of whom are black. There are 4 black boys, 3 black girls, 6 nonblack boys, and 3 nonblack girls. Two focal black boys, James and Donald, are in this class. The names of the black children are: James, Charles, Gwendolyn, William, Donald, Roberta, and Tasha. The names of the nonblack children are: Jeffery, Stanley, Paul, Tina, Cindy, Barbara, Mark, Alphonzo, and Keith.
6. Teacher: Mrs. O'Brien is a young female, possibly in her mid-20's. She is tall, 5'10", with long black hair and a tendency to dress more formally than other teachers. Although reserved, she is very cordial and pleasant to me.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
    A. Subject Matter Focus: English
    B. Observation Time: 9:12-9:54, 2nd period
    C. Instructional Level: 8-2, lowest of 2 level 8th grade
    D. Instructional Strategy: Whole class; small groups
    E. Materials: Book-Light in the Forest; returned quizzes
8. Narrative Description of Physical Setting: Mrs. O'Brien's room is located on the first floor of the middle school building at the northeast end of the hall. The room is small, but today there is an empty seat a the far back of the room. I take this seat. Although the teacher's desk is on the north side of the room, the students' desks face west, and the teacher stands on that side to teach the class. Virtually all of the walls are covered with english bulletin boards, boards which include student papers, posters of books under discussion, a calendar, art work, etc.

## Narrative

9:12 Bell rings. All children are talking.
T to class: Does anyone have any candy to sell? No one answers.
(I'm not sure whether T wants candy for herself or other reason.)
T to class: The bell has rung; class is about to begin. I am passing back the exams. This is the first exam of the marking period (i.e., the new marking period). Some of you seem to be taking a break. Some of you are not reading. You should be doing your best work. (T's tone is critical.)
Student (?) to T: Why? Teacher ignores the comment.
T to class: There are no breaks. No basketball, no interruptions. It's not spring yet, so you should really be doing your

best work. (The exam was on the book students are presently reading: Light in the Forest.)

As T passes out exams, the children compare grades and talk.
T to class: (impatient and irritated) All right. All right. Anyone with a grade under 75, turn in the corrections tomorrow. We began some of this (i.e., questions about the novel) yesterday. We'll continue. Keith?

(I didn't hear the first question. The second question focuses on conflicts in the story.) Tina answers and T writes on the chalkboard:

Conflicts
------------------------
Indians vs. White men

T to class: That's a general conflict. Are there any specific conflicts?
Student (?) to T: True Son versus Himself. T writes this on the board., adding that when True Son first came home there was a struggle within himself (T fully and clearly explains this conflict.)
T to class: True Son feels that the Indian way of life is the best. What does True Son regret when he leaves with Half Arrow?
Student (?) to T: His little brother, Gordy.
(T again expands on the answer. It is apparent that she uses a lot of recitation, but she also expands almost every answer that the students give.)
T relates a personal experience of how she idolized her older sister.
T to class: Can you erase part of yourself (Referring to True Son's relationship with his younger brother)? Does Half Arrow notice this change in True Son (as a result of relationship with Gordy)?
Student (?) to T: Yes (Because of my seat-the only one available-I can't distinguish exactly who is answering on the far side of the room.)

9:27 The class is most attentive and either participating actively in, or listening to, the discussion. This includes James and Donald. T continues to expand on students' comments. She sets the stage and then asks another question about the next event in the book.
Donald to T: (answering) The aunt sees an Indian in the window and the aunt chases Half Arrow with a broom.
T to Donald and class: So he (i.e., Half Arrow) was not there to scalp her. The class laughs.

T continues the discussion. James answers T's question about jokes. T comments about the telling of ethnic jokes to class: They are funny until they're about you.
Charles to Paul: Yeah, that's what's wrong with you Paul.
T smiles and continues the discussion. (T does not seize the

opportunity to expand this conversation about how ethnic groups are treated. Although excellent at conducting recitation and expanding children's comments, she doesn't apply the discussion of ethnic jokes to Oak Lawn.)

T to class: What about other examples of jokes? When no one answers, she tells the students to look it up. T discusses a problem in the story and with telling jokes, telling class: Each side feels that they are all right and the other side is all wrong.

T returns to discussion of events in the book. She focuses specifically on True Son's problem when he finally returns to the Indians but is not happy when he gets there. T expands the discussion. After stating that this problem recurs in history, T instructs students to get into small groups and identify a similar incident in history (T seems confident that the students know enough history to perform this task.).

Students get into small groups, shifting their positions in their seats if necessary to get in face-to-face groupings.
T to class: You can use our other readings. Man's inhumanity to man. (It's not clear to what this last statement refers.)
9:42 Students are in groups and working on the task, including Donald and James.

T to Stanley (left out of a group): Work with someone. Alphonse to Stanley: You can work with us.
(Stanley, a white boy, sits in the southern-most row; there are no children in front of him, no child behind him, and only a black boy, Charles, to his right. Neither Charles, nor Barbara, the white girl behind Charles, bring Stanley into a group. Instead,Alphonse, anonblack boy two rows behind himincludes Stanley.)

T waits a few more minutes and then asks for the groups' examples.
One group gives the example of Nazis and Jews and they explain their choice (I think they explain it well.).
T asks how this example is different from that in the books.
(I think students explain that well in saying people were mistreated in that situation while there is no clear "villian" in True Son's situation.)
Donald suggests the example of Democrats and Republicans. T expands this idea, and so does Jeffery, followed by T again.
Various students report for their groups. Tasha reports the example of Frederick Douglas--T expands; Barbara, Keith, Tina and Gwendolyn report examples from each of their groups. T expands most of the students' comments.

T to class (repeating herself): The theme of man's inhumanity to man occurs throughout history. We will read The Crucible, which is set during the Salem witch trials, but it's really about the McCarthy era when people were blacklisted just because they associated with someone.

T returns to a discussion of True Son. After a brief (closing) discussion, T tells students she will repeat the vocabulary words given before. She also adds new ones.

Bell rings. T to class: Be sure to finish reading the book.

## Background Information

1. School: Monroe
2. Date: Monday, October 17, 1983
3. Observer: DTS
4. Class: Mrs. Harold's 7-8th grade
5. Students: There are 19 students in this class; all are present for this session. The black boys are: Cornelius, Darryl, Ronald, Harold, Harry, Thad, and James. The black girls are: Melanie, Martha, Cheryl, and Laura. The nonblack boys are: Peter, Joseph, Dan, Jack, and Arnold. The nonblack girls are: Ann, Maria, and Karen. The focal children are: Melanie, Cheryl, Darryl (8th graders), Ronald, and Harry (7th graders). The 8th graders are: Cornelius, Melanie, Joseph, Dan, Maria, Cheryl, Karen, Darryl, and Thad; all others are 7th graders.
6. Teacher: Mrs. Harold is new to Monroe and the neighboring community. At the time of the observations she was in her first year of teaching at Monroe. Mrs. H. is about 5'2" tall, slender, in her late 20's or early 30's, with a high-pitched voice that rises even higher whenever sheattempts to verbaly control or discipline her feisty early adolescent students. Neither she nor they seem to mind;the students like her. Youngish and mod,even rock counterculture, in her demeanor, she borders between being "one of the kids" and the teacher she knows she is. She has been an actress, and during the 83-84 year, involved several classroom studentsin a community-based, but non-school-sponsored, play production activity. She is married, but presently has no children.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
   - A. Subject Matter Focus: Weekly class meeting
   - B. Observation Time: 8:41-9:35
   - C. Instructional Level: No within grade or between grade distinctions
   - D. Instructional Strategy: Whole class
   - E. Materials: Chalkboard
8. Narrative Description of Physical Setting: The classroom is is as described in the observational setting of Mrs. Litowitz's 7-8th grade, with one important exception. Chairs/desks are are placed in a semicircle arrangement in the room. Mrs. H. is located at the mid-point of the semicircle. On one side, in the following order are: Harry, Jack, Karen, and Martha. Laura is outside the circle, just behind Martha. Ann and Melanie sit just outside the circle, between Jack and Karen. On the other side of Mrs. H, in the following order are: Cornelius, Harold, Arnold, Peter, Dan, Joseph, and Ronald. Just outside the circle, immediately

behind Arnold are: James, Thad, and Darryl. Dan is directly in front of Darryl, almost outside of the circle. When they enter, Maria and Cheryl sit just outside the semi-circle, between Mrs. H and Cornelius. Class members usually arrive around 8:30; when I enter and take a seat at the back of the semicircle (i.e., behind Harry and Jack), all but Melanie, Maria and Cheryl are present, and the classroom door is closed.

## Narrative

8:41 DTS to T: (Opening door and sticking head in) Should I come back later? (I am aware that at least once before Ms. H. had preferred that I come later because a similar meeting was being held.)
T to DTS: (No), You may come in now...we're having a class meeting. (I take a seat, observing that the T and students are discussing various plans for locating classroom desks-individual students have submitted preferred plans.)
Enter Maria and Cheryl together. T to both: Where did you guys go? (I do not hear the response.)

8:45 Enter Melanie. T to class: Okay, the first idea was from Cornelius...all in favor? Cornelius gets two votes based on students' show of hands, one from himself and one from Harry.
T to class: The second plan was my plan. All the students, including Cornelius and Harry, vote yes.
Maria to T: What happened to my plan?
T to class: The only reason some of you voted for your plan is so you can sit with your friends...Darryl you can go down to the office and check with B. (Mrs. Litowitz) about the big tables...

The group's agenda turns to trip planning.
Darryl (apparently the elected class president): As most of you have probably heard B. (Mrs. L.) is thinking about a trip to the Virgin Islands...
T to class: (responding to undercurrents of talking that seem not to be focused on the current topic) Excuse me, stop talking or we'll have science...
Darryl to group: I did check out Puerto Rico...
T to Darryl: What is it?
Darryl to class: About $350.00.
T to class: Was she (Mrs. L.) serious?...quiet, quiet...
(Throughout the discussion thus far, there have been repeated admonitions by Mrs. H. for quiet.) T to group: Was she serious...(quiet) we're talking...

Joseph to T: Last year we had to pay $6-700.00 for Colorado and we worked our buns off and got it down to $300...
Arnold: We did it. (This is Mrs. H.'s first year with the class, and she is being informed about the group's past productivity.)
T to class: Fundraising cannot be done on school time...it will be after school on Saturday.

Class (almost in unison): We can't go then (i.e., if they cannot work collectively toward this end)...
T to class: Parents said no taking school time for Virgin Islands (Apparently many parents did not like the month's fundraising for Colorado trip last year.)...You have to go to high school, take the Iowa tests...you are students...
Ronald to class: Most parents would pay...
Mrs. H. and Maria to Ronald: Some people have a lot of children; they are working to send the children to college.
Darryl to T: Say we (i.e., the class) did decide this, worked real hard...
T to Darryl: Sure, just no way we're going to do this in this school (i.e., this year, given parents' sentiments)...

T to class: Shhh, quiet...you don't take a week off from school to go to camp, etc., you go for an educational experience...so much to learn in Virgin Islands, but we would have to learn ...have some kind of educational experience...
Harry: Why?
T to Harry: Legally, students have to be in school; while you're in school academic fundraising not part of it (i.e., not a central part).
Joseph to T: You want to talk illegal. (Points to wall item, but from where I sit, I cannot see what it is.) See that thing up there; it's illegal--fire hazard--but the school won't let you take it down.

T (observing Harry's talk and movements): Harry take time out--over there. Harry immediately gets up, goes into a smaller adjoining room and shuts the door.

Karen to class and T: Lots of holidays are coming up...we could have a bake sale.
T to class: Quiet, quiet please...There are many ways to fundraise...my husband's school is very poor...They sell frozen pizzas in the area, taffy apples.
James appears to scoff...
T to James: We're talking poor James, which you kids don't understand...

T to class: Quiet...Maria stop talking. If you guys want to earn money fast...You have to sell...This company gives you $1 for every pizza you sell. You have to be willing to sell things door to door.
Joseph to T: How many schools (like this one) in Chicago do you know that go on camping trips, Virgin Islands--How many people from the Virgin Islands--It would be good for us and the Virgin Islands.
T to Joseph: I'm on the budget committee (of the Monroe School)...(We had a) big meeting...We don't have the money; enrollment went down...The most they'd give us would...(I can't hear)

9:05 T to Darryl: Tell us what you can do to make this more feasible. T to class: Quiet...Darryl?

Dan to class: Another good fundraiser is a raffle...
Joseph to Dan: No, you've got to have something everyone would want at a high school...but I think we can do it...

Darryl to T: If we do go (i.e., to theirgin Islands), when...
T to Darryl: Early spring.
T to class: Let's not leave this hanging. Give Darryl some ideas for fundraising by next Monday (i.e., the next class meeting); jot down some ideas and give them to Darryl. Darryl, you get a small committee and check into airline rates.
The class is continuing to chat and talk individually.
T to class: Quiet, listen to Darryl.
Darryl chooses Karen, Dan, and James. T reiterates: Karen, Dan, James...

9:10 T to class: Quiet, please...(or) we're starting science in 5 minutes...
T to class (continuing about the possible trip): You guys get to camp on the beach...but I get to go to Darryl's grandfather's house...

Cornelius to class: Why don't we vote for a Vice President?
T to class: We definitely need a Secretary for these morning meetings, not a Vice President...Darryl's okay as President, but a Secretary would write down, report if committees are working during the week...(the secretary) doesn't have to be a female...
Darryl (?): Nominations?
Dan: I nominate Jack.
T to class: Anyone responsible enough. Don't vote on anyone you know who's sloppy, disorganized, can't read handwriting. Like Darryl's a good President...
Darryl: I nominate Melanie.
T to Darryl: Good choice...
Darryl (continuing): Maria, Arnold...
Harold: I nominate Peter.
Martha to class: Shut up! (i.e., to others talking)
Ronald: Me!

9:16 Mrs H. to Mrs. Trema (computer teacher) who appears at the door: Can you wait... Mrs. Trema pauses, but enters.
Mrs Trema to class: First of all, I want to talk about how you...(referring to use of computer)...When you load something in take the disk drive out...also Logo not there...two utility disks missing...look in your computer folders and find the disks...if (they are) not found, no computer...
Dan to Mrs. Trema: If someone wants to take one...have to be someone with a Commodore...leaves it down to 4 (i.e., 4 persons right there)...
Mrs. H to class: I'm not going to go around...Ronald?
Ronald to Mrs Trema: Don't you think it might have gotten lost?
You might have left it down there.
Mrs. Trema to class: I've turned the (computer) room upside down and have not found it. If you turn it up in this room,

I'll be happy.
Darryl to Mrs. Trema: Why not tell us before...you said you found it (out) while we were gone...
Mrs. Trema to Darryl: I did on Tuesday.
Mrs. H. to Darryl: And she told P. (another teacher) on Wednesday.
Martha: Only a couple of people have a Commodore at home with a disk drive...they don't need to steal a disk from here...
Mrs. H. to Martha: No one's saying you stole it; just return it.

Joseph to class: I know something for a fact...
T (Mrs. H.) to class: Please be careful, look around, look in your private stuff; I didn't want to turn the room upside down.
Ronald to class: Well, I'm not being doubtful or anything (but) Martha got her walkman stolen...and no one gave it back...
9:27 Mrs. H. to Mrs. Trema: Oh, thank you very much (Mrs. Trema leaves.).
T to class: It's really getting very depressing for me, and it must be for you...someone who's...
Joseph: Klepto! (Students and T laugh)
T (continuing) to class: Someone in this classroom...have no idea who to suspect. I'm your teacher and I trust you. There's one person here who's very sick. Someone stole from a classmate (and) that's sick...She's (i.e., Mrs. Trema) talking three disks missing...as a classroom tomorrow we're losing the computer...

Maria to T: You think its the same person, I don't.
Darryl: I don't think its the same person...
T to class: When I catch this person they are nailed to the wall. Believe me, the suspensions you'll get, conferences you'll have...

9:31 Cheryl to T: Are you going to say who did it?
Harry (Who has voluntarily returned from smaller adjoining room)
to T: That's what you ought to do...
Karen: A couple of people think they know who it is.
Ronald: Can we go on to the vote; we are wasting time.
T to class: I can't accuse people with no proof.
Martha to T: A couple of people have confronted me about the radio--They said I have it...
T to Martha: I know you don't; I saw your face...No one could fake an expression like that... T to class: Quiet, quiet...

The class returns to the vote for class secretary; Maria writes them on the chalkboard as T counts the students raise hands. Melanie wins, and she is verbally congradulated by Thad and Laura. The vote count is as follows: Melanie, 7 votes; Maria, 4 votes; Arnold, 3 votes; Peter, 1 vote; Ronald 0 votes (It appears that 4 votes were not cast, but I could not determine how this happened, nor do I know what happened to Jack's nomination; I did not hear his name called when votes were cast.)

9:35 T to class: Okay, science time--take a few minutes break (and then) let's go...

The student body at Oak Lawn has been likened to a "little United Nations." Though of predominantly middle to upper-middle class socioeconomic backgrounds, nonblack students represent many different ethnic backgrounds. The school is very much a microcosm of the ethnic diversity that has historically been characteristic of the city of Chicago. In addition, it services the children of many middle and near eastern born professional families currently settled in this country. However, Oak Lawn's explicit educational policy is to deemphasize attention to the school's cultural and social diversity in instructional matters. It is thought that the school community is best unified by attention to what students and families have in common. Therefore, many potentially rich instructional activites are sacrificed to priorities associated with school organization and management.

Oak Lawn faculty typically addressed cultural and social differences only when particular curriculum activities demanded such perspectives. For example, instruction in the French language is routinely offered in the middle school. Students have the opportunity to learn about many aspects of French culture in the context of learning this language. The preceding observational record is illustrative of another instructional situation. The teacher of this eighth grade class used ethnicity as a vehicle for enabling students to understand the conflicts dramatized in a novel read by the students. She emphasized that while "True Son" was a Native Indian, he was reared by members of the white community and that this experience induced internal conflicts (due to his attachment to members of both sociocultural groups), commenting to students at one point: "...Can you, erase part of yourself?" She stressed the development of students' capacities to use their own inner experiences to empathize with True Son's predicament. However, even a discussion of ethnic jokes, and their consequences for persons who are targets of these jokes, did not lead her to relate any of these issues to experiences that students might have at Oak Lawn, or elsewhere. Students were invited to reflect upon their understandings of history to describe similar situations where groups are "opposing" and no one group is clearly "right." Once again, the discussion was very abstract and not related to the students' personal experiences.

In contrast, although Monroe teachers were usually very concerned that students relate what they learn to their own experiences, they required that these experiences be generated by peer interactions in school life, and no instances of racial tensions or conflicts were observed. Teachers also did not use the racial diversity as a vehicle of instruction relative to information about the two groups. Children were treated as if racial differences did not exist. Further, in the third through eighth grade classes, there was little cultural diversity in the student body. Only one observed student was of Asian descent; other children were black or white. Finally, because few low-income children were currently enrolled at Monroe, the social class homogeneity served to further preclude children's experiences with children of diverging social backgrounds. Therefore, differences between children that were stressed largely concerned personality differences. Monroe faculty were especially sensitive to the isolating aspects of the children's social status for the children's abilities to experientially understand other life styles, as illustrated in the preceding observation.

Weekly class meetings were a tradition at Monroe. This particular meeting illustrates the importance teachers gave to the children's resolution of their own interpersonal problems associated with "living together" in school. Group discussion around a particular series of classroom thefts established that this is not desirable behavior. During the meeting, the teacher took time to explain to the students what parental expectations of their behaviors, as a graduating class, happen to be, and some students empathized with parents' concerns that financial resources be saved for the college years. Importantly, this discussion included a discussion of the overall financial picture of the school itself. However, several students did not agree with either the teacher or the parents' perspectives, and a class committee was established to investigate the possible costs of a trip to the Virgin Islands (This trip was not taken.). All students appeared to understand that they would have to collectively generate financial resources to make such a trip. The teacher used the opportunity of this discussion to stress how these students access resources that other, less privileged children do not. Interestingly, the newly-elected secretary to this class, Melanie, was a child from a much lower-income family background. However, other observations revealed that she was indeed, organized, assertive, and a good, if not outstanding, black student who was a well-rounded active participant in classroom and school life. In short, according to the competency-based criteria offered by the teacher for the position of class secretary, she fit perfectly. Neither family background, physical attractiveness, nor academic achievement per se, were factors in her election; rather, her particular personal contributions to the life of this class and this school appeared most important.

Some Oak Lawn faculty also demonstrated a concern that students identify with persons less privileged than themselves. During the Christmas season, for example, regular bulletin announcements appeared in the "morning report" encouraging students to donate canned goods and other gifts for presentation to residents of Cook County Hospital. As another example, a seventh-eighth grade Science Workshop focused on children's concrete role enactment of what it would be like to live with specific, physically handicapping conditions. Finally, social studies classes stressed an integrative approach to studying human behavior. Concepts associated with cultural differences in geography, economic production, and population trends were often simultaneously considered.

However, only three curriculum-related references to black history or culture were identified during the entire observational period: (1) a discussion of a narrative of the life of Frederick Douglas in the English classes; (2) a bulletin board displaying some black inventors, arranged by a science teacher; and (3) a special assembly (not attended by the observer) for Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday in January. No special attention was given in February to Black History month (February is the month when parents and prospective parents are routinely permitted to visit classrooms.), and the annual middle school "International" family-style dinner program did not include foods associated with black American or African cultures (Indeed, during one interview, a teacher expressed skepticism as to what could be included in such a program by black families.).

In some classes, omission of reference to blacks was particularly striking. For example, when Andrew Jackson and the "New democracy" was discussed in a social studies class, discussion of the actions of the former first "frontier" President led to a discussion of how the Native Indians, Chinese, and Japanese were treated in early United States history. However, when three black boys introduced how black Americans were treated, the teacher chose not to expand upon their comments, nor to other ideas introduced later by the students on the then currently ongoing race-related controversy in Chicago city government between black Mayor Harold Washington and several white city councilmen. In another instance, a discussion of jobs assumed by nineteenth century immigrants that other Americans did not want did not extend to discussion of the black urban and northern migration experience. Several such "failed opportunities" were noted.

There was evidence that some black students were aware of how little other children (and faculty?) knew of their history and culture. Children, for example, enjoyed a school-established version of the popular televised "Jeopardy" game. In the school's version, children would submit questions to categories for student members of opposing teams to answer. In one contest, an eighth grade black boy deliberately submitted questions on black music which other students could not answer correctly. He was overheard to matter-of-factly comment to a nonblack student: "See you white people don't know that!" During a gym session fifth grade black and nonblack girls "spontaneously" lined up in opposing dodge ball teams. Coaches did not appear to notice what had occurred. Later, some of the black girls were queried by the observer given her own observations of the behavior. The girls responded: "Oh, you noticed that!" They reassured the observer that the event had simply occurred because they all wished to play on the same team with a particular black girl who was an excellent player sure to lead them to victory. It seemed that many of these bright black children had learned to transcend race as ably as their teachers and nonblack peers!

Maturing black students, aware of faculty tendencies to avoid racial issues, may sometimes have deliberately used aspects of black culture to subtly tease and provoke them. For example, during gym a group of sixth grade black boys were observed to put on a white glove similar to that used as a trademark by popular rock star Michael Jackson. During music lessons, the same group was observed to imitate behaviors associated with the stage performance of Ray Charles, to the considerable amusement of other students, and possibly further contributing to an image they had achieved as the "class clowns" (They were thus characterized to the observer by a sixth grade black female peer.). Outside classes, some faculty were overheard expressing discomfort with Michael Jackson's rock music, danced to by some black students at a school event, though also acknowledging that the black students involved danced well.

According to interviews with the Headmaster, two school policies helped to attenuate potential racial and ethnic strains in the middle school: (1) assigned lunchroom seating which helped to avoid racial or ethnic "clustering," and (2) cessation of middle school dances which could be mixed-racial and thus aggrevate parental concerns. Both policies appear to reflect the school's sensitivities to the feelings and opinions of all members of the differing parent communities represented by the attending children. In short, explicit school policies and informal norms about racial issues and race relations resulted from administrative, and possibly faculty, efforts to delicately balance the concerns of conservative constituent black and nonblack parent communities. Therefore, the fact that Oak Lawn's school community extended beyond the boundaries of the school's elegant physical milieu was most clearly demonstrated by its delicate, fine-tuned approach to the management of children's developing identities as members of families from racially and ethnically diverse communities.

At Monroe, observations of upper grade classrooms (grades three to eight) indicated that in the upper grades, white students were in the minority. The estimated 50/50 split between black and nonblack students is accounted for by the preschool and primary grade racial populations. However, identified parent leaders in the school were typically white, and at one meeting attended with parent and teacher members of the important Educational Policy and Planning Committee, only two black parents, both mothers, were present. At least one expressed a concern that other black parents do not respond as readily as other parents to the necessity for total involvement and commitment to the school's daily functioning. It is possible that many black parents are not as totally committed to the school's educational philosophy as are other parents; it is also possible that many of these middle income black parents do not have life styles which complement and encourage such involvement in school decision-making functions. In any event, therefore, despite the presence of many black children, observations of school life during black history month revealed, once again, little attention to black life and culture (Discussions of Dr. Martin Luther King and Gandhi were introduced in the context of discussions and reports supportive of the school's overall emphasis on "Peace" for the 83-84 academic year.). Parental interviews did not reveal any special concern about the situation; teachers showed no preferential treatment to either racial group.

As classmates black and nonblack students appeared to get along quite well. No race-related instances of strains or tensions were observed, though one fifth-grade white boy was unmercifully teased one day by other black boys in his peer friendship group, seemingly because they were jealous that he had been selected by other peers as the best "breakdancer" among them. Another very light-skinned sixth-grade black boy announced in the observer's presence in response to the query of a black girl that he had deliberately chosen to begin a chess game with the black pieces because "Those are my people." Some black children, particularly in the fifth-sixth grades, were heard to use more "black english" than others, but teachers were not overheard to correct students' speech. Conversations with faculty did indicate some concern relative to children's language acquisition, given this feature of several children's speech patterns. The more assertive nonblack male students were on occasion, again particularly in grades 5-6, overheard to speak to black students using "black" speech styles, tones, and intonations. However, these same students were never observed being reacted to unkindly by black students and also were perfectly capable of using "standard" english when required, as were the overwhelming majority of the black students.

What is described here is, possibly, a very comfortable idyllic world for both black and nonblack students. Children were free to "be themselves," and relatively unexposed to how unkind others who perceive them as socially different can be. Perhaps more significant, the teachers rarely attempted to introduce an understanding of how such experiences can come about through exposure of the children to those aspects of life in America beyond Monroe. Units about other cultures (e.g., Native Americans in grades 3-4) stressed the positives of those cultures. During observations, no references to conflicts between cultures, racial, or ethnic groups were overheard. In a kindly, friendly, protected adult environment, Monroe children had achieved racial integration, but seemed not to really know that the rest of the world had yet to "catch up" with them. As one example, Monroe children knew that the "hippies" and "drug pushers" that they read about in some of the reading material introduced to them were different from themselves, that "poor" people, and possibly even other black people, were different from themselves, but they were too young, and perhaps many too protected, to know or wonder why. They were, in effect, kindly, urban children, many of whom had "street smarts," but had yet to learn anything of the personal price of difference that some might have to pay. As a society, perhaps it is our responsibility to become worthy of them.

## Conclusion

The identified differences (see chapter 9) in school history, educational philosophy, and organization at Oak Lawn and Monroe result in very different schooling experiences for the two groups of black children. This chapter has described the differences in the children's experiences in three areas: student participation and involvement in classroom and school life; norms for student achievement; and management of issues associated with the children's racial identity development. Adult-child authority and interpersonal peer relations have been treated as contexts for discussion of these areas. This concluding section, rather than continuing to describe differences, will focus upon an equally intriguing issue: How these two schools are similar with respect to the creation of academic environments in which black children can learn and achieve. From the children's perspective, four similarities seem important.

First, each school has an explicit policy about how parents are to participate, a policy which was known by all interviewed parents, whether or not they totally agreed. The policy covers the role of parents in relation to administrators and faculty, as well as children. The policy also provides for how, within each school culture, parents can support children's learning. At both schools, frequent, regular feedback is provided to parents about children's achievement development, and the children expect that this feedback will include a description of their schoolwork and of their attitudes and behaviors in school. In summary, children know that their parents and school faculty and administrators are working cooperatively on their behalf. Families and teachers are not "worlds apart" (Lightfoot, 1978) in these schools.

Second, at both schools black boys and girls are expected to achieve. No preferential teacher behaviors were observed by sex of child, such that black boys could perceive different, perhaps lower, academic expectations for themselves, in comparison with girls. This finding is important because boys traditionally have lower levels of reading achievement than girls in elementary school (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974), and because there is some evidence that this trend is especially evident when the performances of black boys are contrasted with those of black girls (Hare & Castenell, 1985). Observations at Monroe and Oak Lawn indicate that boys participate as actively as girls in school life and, if anything, that the social networks and friendship ties of black boys may even be stronger than those of black girls with other children (Chapter 10 reports data indicating that black girls have significantly lower reading achievement scores than black boys.). Further, at Oak Lawn there are male teachers in the middle school, and at Monroe black males assist in the after-school program. During observations at Monroe, at least one seventh-eighth grade session was conducted by a male who introduced students to techniques of manuscript printing, and several other sessions were conducted by a black male substitute teacher. Special events for parents at both schools were usually attended by both fathers and mothers of children. Finally, designated parental governance and advisory bodies at both schools included males and females.

Third, the black children know that their teachers want them to succeed in school. Sometimes teachers at both schools were observed to become visibly upset if children, black or otherwise, were perceived as not doing their best work. Teachers at both schools, using very different appraisal cues, regularly evaluated their effectiveness according to whether their students were actually learning, and they shared this concern with the children. One of the Oak Lawn transcripts included a teacher who emphasized to students how important their evaluations were to him as feedback about his teaching performance. Given Oak Lawn's teacher-centered classrooms, his comments were especially appropriate. At Monroe, teachers routinely emphasized to children that the purpose of disciplined, orderly child behavior in the open classrooms was to insure that all children could do their academic work.

Finally, faculty at both schools emphasize to children that they, the children, are primarily responsible for their own learning and achievement. Children are socialized to believe that they are learning for themselves, and that what they are able to master is for their personal benefit. Schools are pleasant, kindly places in which to learn, teachers enable students to learn, and parents are very gratified by demonstrated student mastery, but children learn for themselves. At Monroe, in the open classrooms children who consistently distract other children from learning are not well-liked by peers. At Oak Lawn, children who consistently do not submit their work on time, or otherwise fail to keep up with peer group achievement norms, are not well-regarded by peers, nor are children who challenge the authority of their teachers. Despite the differing academic tracks within grade level at Oak Lawn, students in each track adhere to similar school-wide norms. At both schools, children who demonstrated exceptional mastery in an assigned project were observed to be openly and spontaneously cheered by peers. Standards set by faculty are so consistently reinforced that they become the norms against which peers judge and sanction one another.

# Chapter 12

# Black Students and Their Teachers and Peers: Roman and St. August

## Introduction

This chapter describes how the school cultures of Roman and St. August create and contribute to the identity of successful school achievers. Data for this chapter are primarily drawn from nearly 135 half-day observations of focal black students, their teachers and peers at Roman and St. August. Observational techniques used at the field-site are detailed in "Field Manual for School Observations," Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools, Volume II. Two team members were responsible for the field observations at Roman and St. August. These ethnographers spent a minimum of 35 days observing at their assigned school, participated in routine and informal school activities, informally interviewed children and school personnel, shared information on black focal children, visited each other's school, and maintained narrated semi-structured field observations and a diary of personal experiences. In addition to these activities, the observers also accompanied the students on field trips, and attended special school events, such as holiday assemblies, parent teacher go- to-school nights, and graduation ceremonies.

The purpose of the school observations was to gain a holistic understanding of the socialization contexts in which black children study and learn. To make this task manageable, a focus and structure was formulated for conducting the fieldwork. It was determined that the observations would concentrate on describing how the school experiences of black children impacted their academic achievement, participation and involvement, and identity development. These three factors, all of which contribute to the self concept development of a child, were likely to be pervasive in all aspects of school life. Because of the study's holistic focus, which recognizes the importance of examining the interrelationships between the family and school to understand a child's school success, the observational data in this chapter, have also been interpreted in light of family, administrator, faculty and parent leader interviews and school documents (discussed in chapters 8 and 9 ). What emerges from these data sources, is that each school has its' own distinctive culture which uniquely contributes to a black child's academic achievement, feelings of inclusion and identity. This school culture is established through the goals and activities of the school personnel, the families, and their children.

School life at Roman is quite different than at St. August. As reported in Chapter 9, Roman is characterized as a pressured competitive academic environment, where high standards of performance are expected of all students. Differences among racial groups are minimized and many school personnel and parents support a color blinded philosophy. St. August, while emphasizing the acquisition of basic skills, takes considerable pride in the cultural and ethnic diversity of its' student body. Although these schools have dissimilar philosophies they both are able to develop the identity of a successful school achiever. This chapter examines how these schools have succeeded in this accomplishment.

## Student Involvement

The contexts in which children participate in school vary greatly in the extent to which they are structured by adults. For example, a teacher may embrace the school's academic and socialization goals, but organize and manage the learning environment in a manner in which these goals may not be obvious or in certain circumstances not even considered. How teacher and students actively participate in school life including both in- and out- of- classroom experiences reflect upon the educational style of the school.

Studies of effective teaching have indicated that students are more likely to learn when they are actively involved (Gage, 1978; Bloom, 1976; Rosenshine, 1976; Good, Biddle, & Brophy, 1975). Teachers can increase involvement by assigning interesting and worthwhile tasks, monitoring student assignments, giving a maximal amount of feedback and/or giving all students an equal opportunity to answer questions. Students also are more likely to meet school standards when they are accepted into the culture of the school and socialized into the norms and values it upholds. Lunch periods, recess and special school events such as plays or athletic activities provide opportunities to observe these socialization experiences. Black students in other school settings have not received the same opportunities as nonblack students to be involved in classroom activities (Rist, 1978). Moreover, they are often considered "marginal" to the predominate school culture (Metz, 1983). The following transcripts of a math lesson at Roman and St. August, highlight how focal black students interact with their teachers and peers, during a lesson which is traditional and relatively value neutral. Episodic events which demonstrate how the black students are involved in the school culture are also discussed.

## Background Information

1. School: Roman
2. Date: Monday, October 3, 1983
3. Observer: BLS
4. Class: Mrs. Rudman's 5th grade
5. Students: There are 20 children in the class, eleven girls and nine boys. Three of the girls are black, there are no black boys. Black girls are Mikobe, Sarah and Daphene. (Mikobe and Sarah are focal students)
6. Teacher: Every fifth grade student comes in contact with nine teachers on a consistent basis, i.e., math, English, social studies, science, gym, music, French, library and an instructor in values clarification. For this section of the transcript, the physical description is of Mrs. Rudman, the class homeroom and mathematics teacher. Mrs. Rudman (hereafter referred to as Mrs. R.) is a black female, 5'8", about 125 pounds, 33 years old. She is a light skinned black with white and black facial features. Her hair is black, wavy and shoulder length. She is wearing a green corduroy suit with a red blouse. She more closely resembles the image of a corporate vice president than a "typical" school teacher. This image is accentuated by her regal gait and posture. Mrs. R is the fifth grade team leader this year. There are only two black teachers in the lower school, Mrs. Summers, a third grade teacher and Mrs. R.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
    A. Subject Matter Focus: The fifth graders have a modified departmental program. On this day, I accompanied the students to their math and science classes, snack (in homeroom), English, gym, social studies, French, and library. I was unable to observe during lunch, as the social studies teacher asked to have lunch with me so she could explain the focus of her lesson and how it fit into the total year's social studies curriculum.
    B. Time: 8:15 - 9:15
    C. Instructional Level: The students are heterogeneously grouped into three classes. Each class has approximately twenty students. The class remains together as a unit all day and travels to different rooms for various instructional

activities. All of the fifth graders have gym and lunch together.
D. Instructional Strategy: Total class, students review homework assignment, whole group instruction on "place value", review of tonight's homework.
E. Materials: Overhead projector, notebook, mathematics textbook, homework assignment sheets.

8. Narrative Description of the Physical Context
The fifth grade rooms are on the fourth floor of the building. Teachers and parents can use an elevator to get to the fourth floor. Mrs. R.'s classroom faces north and is on the west side of the building. The classroom is small, compact, and neat. Desks are unattached, the floors are carpeted, and in the back of the room is a mini computer. Walls are decorated with charts which record student progress in mathematics and spelling.

I arrived at the fifth grade classroom at 8:07 a.m., however, I did not enter the room, as the teacher Mrs. R. was tutoring Steve, a black seventh grade student in mathematics.

## Narrative

At 8:15 the bell rang, Steve left the room and Mrs. R. invited me in. She directed me to an empty chair at the back of the room. I took out my seating charts and supplies. Then I showed Mrs. R my list of focal children and asked her which ones were in her class. She explained that two of the students, Mikobe and Sarah were in her homeroom. She commented barring no unforeseen difficulties they should be arriving momentarily. Within minutes the students begin entering the classroom. The first child to enter the class is a very dark girl. She has nappy hair which is tied in a ponytail. She is thin, and small in statue for a fifth grader, and her large oval glasses seem to cover her face. She is carrying her school books in a book bag. She walks quickly from the door to her desk on the east side of the classroom.

Mrs. R. looks up at the girl, smiles and says, Hi Babe. Mikobe, responds, Hi, you have door duty today. Mrs. R.: I do? She walks over to her desk, looks down and replies, I do. She smiles at the girl and me and leaves the room. The girl, opens her desk and the top comes down on her hand. She screams ouch.

The next student in the room is a nonblack boy, he says, hi, Mikobe, to the girl.(I realize this is one of my focal students.) She answers, hello and walks over to the teacher's desk and looks down. She announces to the boy, the blue demons are in second place. (The blue demons is the name of one of the spelling teams.) She returns to her seat and speaks to another nonblack girl who has entered the room, our assignments are due today.

Within minutes, groups of students begin entering the classroom. The students quickly take their seats, unload the contents of their book bags and take out a math sheet and pencil. ( I am surprised at how orderly the students are when they enter the room and seem to immediately get themselves prepared to begin a "day's work".)

8:30 The bell rings. All twenty students in the class are seated at their desks. There are three black girls in the room. (I am not sure which one of the two other girls is my focal child. One of the girls is very dark, the other is lighter skinned.) Mikobe goes over to the the lighter skinned girl and says, Sarah, that is going to be really sticky. Once she says the name I realize that this girl, is my other focal child. Sarah is considerably larger in statue than Mikobe. She also is heavier and appears to be beginning puberty. Her hair is long, black and wavy. It is tied in a ponytail. She also wears glasses. Both girls are wearing pants. The comment about something "being sticky" refers to a patch, Sarah was pasting on her notebook. Mikobe returns to her desk .

The teacher enters the room. T to class: Let's say the pledge. All of the students stand for the pledge. After pledge T to class: A couple of things, I need your help because I have door duty this week. I will not be in the room until 8:30, so please be considerate. Ok class, on your desk I want these things in the following order. She switches on the overhead by her desk. On the screen is a list of assignments designated by numbers. On your desk, assignment sheet 14-3, assignment sheet 16, your diary and today's homework. The students all appear to have the items on their desks specified on the overhead.( This use of the overhead, I assume is routine. It appears to be a useful way to efficiently organize the class for the day's lesson.)

T to class: In your diary next to Monday, what should be written? Mikobe raises her hand, and is called on. Complete assignment 16. Several other students raise their hands. T to Mikobe: Excellent. (The policy of Roman, is that every child is expected to keep a diary assignment calendar beginning in grade 3. According to the head of middle school, the teachers use these diaries differently. It would seem that this teacher is structuring the day's activities to encourage and enhance organizational skills. She accomplishes this by having the assignments written on the overhead prior to the beginning of class and then monitoring the students to see if they have in effect completed their work.)

T to class: Ok class let's correct assignment 14. The teacher calls on the student in the first seat by the window and proceeds to call on each succeeding student in that row. Typical response is a number, which in about 90 percent of the instances is correct. Teacher usually replies good. When it is Mikobe's turn, she answers. The teacher replies: That's not right, write an x by the problem and I will talk to you later. The teacher calls on the next student, he also misses it. The next student gives the right answer. The first page is completed.

8:45 All students are on task. The teacher goes to the blackboard and draws a magic box math problem. This is the type of problem where the student has to calculate the sums of numbers in the rows and columns in a three by three box, to find the integer values for missing spaces. The teacher explains that the way to find the missing sums is through subtraction. (Her explanation is very clear.) Mikobe watches the teacher at the board.

T to class: Ok those of you who didn't do it right, I want you to do it then show it to me so I know you have the right answer. Ok, next page. (Evidently, the second assignment sheet was this magic square problem, the students are now on the third assignment sheet.)

9:00 All students on task. The same procedure of reading answers by rows is followed. The students give their answers, and teacher relies good or very good. T to class: Assignment 14, place value. I want you to read the numbers. the teacher calls on students going up and down the rows. Some of you are dying off at the end. The next student gives an answer. T, Excellent, very clear. T: Don't forget commas. Next assignment, either it is all wrong or all right. She uses the same routine to call on the students.

T to class: The grading scale is as follows, 3 wrong gets 2 points, then 2 wrong 1 point. Put the score on your assignment sheet.
Tell me your grades. The teacher calls out names and the students give their scores, and she records them in her record book.
A student sneezes, and the teacher says, Looks like I have passed around my cold to everyone. Ok, next assignment. Answers have to be in the billions. Again she begins the same answering procedure. The first student called upon, immediately followed the last student called on. The student gives the wrong answer. T: No, tell her class. Class answers in unison, Nine billion. T to class: Good. Ok, Next student read the right side. Student reads the answer. T: Good. (There is no talking while the students give their answers. They all are on task, checking their work.) The next student gives the wrong answer. T to student: Mark it wrong. Next time read it carefully.

As the students give their answers, the teacher walks over to their desks, and looks over their work. She walks up and down the rows. Most of the students can easily read the numbers in the billions. While the teacher is walking she comments to the class, You all should be checking your papers. Mikobe opens her desk and the teacher says to her directly, Be sure you are checking your paper. Mikobe closes her desk and returns to correcting her paper.

T to next student: John, Go on dear. John replies, I can't read it. T to John, Then spell it. John, I can't spell it. T: Next. Susan: I can't read it either. This continues for seven students. The eighth student reads it correctly. The number was in the quadrillions. T to class: That problem was extra credit. The grading scale is as follows, 5 wrong one point, 4 wrong two points, and so on. Ok read your grades. Students report their grades and the teacher records them in her book. Mary states: I lost the paper. T answers: If you lost the assignment, the grade is zero. You are to be prepared with pencils and assigned papers. She then continues recording the grades. ( Some teachers do not allow their students to mark their own papers because some students may have certain proclivities to cheat. It seemed that the teacher expected the students to give the exact answers and grade their papers fairly. It appeared that there was a honor code, and if someone deliberately cheated, group pressure would make him or her admit to the indiscretion.)

T to class: I'm handing out your next assignments. Be sure to record the assignment in your diary. Don't forget to record your answer in the proper place. Teacher goes over to the file cabinet near her desk and takes out papers, she passes the sheets to the children and gives me a copy. While the teacher passes out the next assignment sheets, the students are watching her. Mikobe is looking inside her notebook. When the papers have been distributed, the teacher goes to the overhead and changes the screen to a large number written in expanded notation. The students had to put the number in numerical notation. T to class: Now class who would like to come to the overhead to do this problem? Several students raise their hands including Sarah. The teacher chooses Peter. He comes to the overhead and first puts down comas and dashes. The number on the overhead appears as 3, _ ,_. Peter fills in the numbers for the other places.( It seemed that using the comas and period as a way to determine place values, was a procedure that the students were familiar with.) T to class: All understand that? Students answer: Yes. T: Go on and work on your sheets, while I get some more.

9:15 All students on task. T goes over to file and gets more papers. She moves around the room passing out papers. Then she returns to desk picks up a stapler and goes around stapling the sheets together while the students are working. When she finishes stapling the material April exclaims: I don't understand it. T replies: I will go over it during homeroom. Now I want those tests that had to be signed. Five students go to the teacher's desk. Mikobe is one of the students. The students hand in their papers and the T records them in her book. (I notice that the children start looking at their watches, the teacher also looks down at her watch.) Without a word from Mrs. R. or a bell, the students begin putting away their math and take out their science books and line up in a single file at the door. Mrs. R. walks hurriedly to the door, and opens it. She walks down the hall with the students following her and up the stairs to the fifth floor. She stands at the entrance to the science room and waits until the science teacher opens the door. The students pass into the class. (She leaves and I stay with the class. From the time the students put away their math materials, walked up to the fifth floor, and were ready for their next lesson was less than two minutes.) Once in the science room the students went to (it apppeared assigned) seats at small tables. The science teacher's first words were: Ready for our science test? Some students answer yes, while others nod their heads in agreement.

From the onset of the school observations at Roman, it appeared that the teachers behaved uniformly and equitably with respect to student participation in learning activities in the classroom. Mrs. R's class is fairly representative of the way in which the Roman teachers operate their classrooms. Middle school teachers in all subject areas, when correcting papers or reading material in class used the same procedure of eliciting student responses by rows, thus ensuring that all students had an equal opportunity to participate in class activities directly related to academic pursuits. During class discussion periods, however, this type of procedure was not followed. Several students in various classes were more likely to raise their hands or speak out in class discussions. These students were both black and nonblack. The teachers were likely to call upon both groups equally. Black and nonblack students who did not raise their hands voluntarily were also urged by the teachers to participate in class discussions.

Feedback on academic performance as well as social conduct as evidenced in Mrs. R's class was also apparent in other classrooms. When giving the students feedback she was fairly uniform in her comments. In all classes black and nonblacks are as likely to receive positive reinforcement from their teachers. Students having difficulty are not reprimanded but rather extra time is allocated for when their problems will be addressed. This procedure is also standard among the teachers. They tend not to take class time to go over individual student problems.

At St. August, the teachers also have rules and routines to ensure that all students have an opportunity to participate in learning experiences. They also give praise and criticisms equally to their black and nonblack students, which is apparent in the following mathematics lesson at St. August.

### Background Information

1. Date: Thursday, December 15, 1983
2. School: St. August
3. Observer: YL
4. Class: Ms. Hope's 5 and 6 th grade
5. Students: There are nineteen girls, seven of whom are black,

five of whom are focal girls, Gabrellia, Keenea, Denna, Arthea, and Cecila. There are fourteen boys, five of whom are black, two of whom are focal boys, Keith, Daniel. Non focal black boys who appear in transcript are James, Lamont, Durmia.

6. Teacher: The teacher is a medium size white female. She has blue eyes and blond hair and is 23 years old. Data from her interview indicate that she is unmarried, raised in a middle class family, and lives in an upper middle class suburb. She attended a small college and majored in education. She currently is in the process of receiving a special education degree.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
   A. Subject Matter Focus: The fifth and sixth grades are combined in one classroom. The homeroom teacher Ms. Hope is responsible for all subject areas. Periods observed today included, reading, art, recess, lunch, and math.
   B. Observation Time: 12:30 - 1:15
   C. Instructional Level: Students are homogeneously grouped for reading and mathematics across grade levels. For example, if a sixth grade student's performance in math is at the eighth grade level, he or she goes to the eighth grade classroom for mathematics.
   D. Instructional Strategy: The fifth grade students are taking a written test while the sixth graders are having an oral test in place values.
   E. Materials: Books, paper, blackboard
8. Narrative Description
   All of the classrooms at St. August are on the second floor of the church building. Ms. Hope's class is in the center of the floor. The children's unattached desks face the blackboard behind which is a closet for their coats. There are 35 students in this class. At the northeastern corner of the room, is a reading corner which is separated from the desks with bookcases. When children use the reading corner, the teacher sits on a big brown upholstered chair, the children use round sponges. There also is a very old and thin piece of carpet on the floor of the reading area so that the children can also sit on the floor. At the front of the classroom is the teacher's desk, and two extra desks upon which rest three file boxes of different colors. These boxes are used to hold the student's work. On the door is a sign, "God is peace." This transcript begins with the children coming in from lunch.

## Narrative

12:30 T escorts the students into their classroom. As they enter the door, the children talk to each other. Sam is talking with Keith (a focal black boy). The menu for today's lunch could be seen from Keith's pocket. Denna ( a focal black girl) whispers to Ms. Hope. (I believe Denna is one of T's favorites. She is a lovable cute girl, who is always smiling. She often talks to the teacher during transition periods.) T to Deena: I appreciate that, little girl. T to class: We have gym today. So we only have half an hour for mathematics. I am late. So it is my fault. I am sorry.

T to class: The 5th grade will take a test today. Do you understand that you will take part today and part tomorrow? Students respond, Yes. T: Do you all have paper? Keenea, ( a focal black female) says, Just a minute. T: On the count of three you are going to switch for math. She counts to three, and the children leave their seats and move to their math seats.

12:40 On the blackboard are several questions which the T had written during lunch. These were the written questions for the fifth graders. T reads the questions on the blackboard, Problems 1-4. Which number has 7 in the hundreds place, thousands, ones, and tens?
a) 672 b) 8173 c) 703 d) 4793
5. Write 70 million, 48 thousand, 35.
6. Write 6 million, 27 thousand, 4."

Several children raise their hands but the T replies, No, no. This is a test. All right, go ahead and get started. The test is hard, no talking.

T now turns her attention to the sixth graders, Number one, write this number, forty million, thirty thousand, seven. Gabrellia (black focal female) and Myling (nonblack) raise their hands. The teacher ignors them. Gabrellia, continues to try and ask a question without waiting for the teacher to call on her. T replies: Sh! T repeats question one five times until all the children have written it down. Marta (a fifth grader) asks the T a question. She answers her. T reads the second question and adds: Put these numbers in order. Rosa asks a question and the teacher answers her. T gives the third question: Round two hundred and twenty thousand, seven hundred eighty to the nearest ten thousand. Lamont asks the T a question, she repeats this question a few times following the children's request. T to fifth graders: When you are done, leave it on my desk.

12:55 Two non blacks and Keith (a focal boy) and Lamont (a black nonfocal boy) are talking and not on task. Keith is out of his seat and at Lamont's desk. One student, Christina is reading a book, as she had finished her test. Cecila ( black focal girl) and Sasha raise their hands. T walks over to their desks and answers their questions. During this time Keith and Lamont continue talking. T moves over to Lamont's desk. Keith returns to his seat. T says to Lamont, I will talk to Keith about this. Keenea asks the T for a scratch paper (to use for the test). T brings pieces of scratch papers from the closet. About half the sixth graders ask for scratch paper. Another nonblack fifth grader finishes her test and takes a marker from the bookcase.

T continues to give test questions to the 6th graders. T reads the next question. Many of the children say, Huh? T responds Excuse me. She changes what she had read. (T made a mistake.) More and more children in grade five finish their tests. After they place their papers on the teacher's desk, they either take out a book and begin reading or take some markers and begin drawing. Some of them talk. Keith and Lamont start talking again. The T call's Keith's name. He

responds: I just started.
1:05 T to sixth graders: Ok, the last one for today. she reads the last question. Gabrellia puts her head on her desk. Keenea asks Mildred to throw out her scratch paper. Several of the children start to talk. T says: Sh. All 5th grade papers on my desk, all 6th grade papers on my desk. Sixth graders was it hard? Some of the children reply: yes others say no.

Gabriella and a nonblack boy stand up. T stares at them and says, children sitting around them, tell them to sit down. They sit down. T continues, It is hard to practice for an oral test. Those people who are not finished with their Trust Posters bring it tomorrow.
( Fifth and sixth grade in social studies class have been examining how a city government functions. In religious classes they have been discussing what government can do to improve the lives of it's citizens. The students have written letters to the Mayor of Chicago, which ask him to improve living conditions for the poor of the city, as part of this project. Now they are drawing trust posters for a "perfect city.")

T to class: Why would we make trust posters for our perfect city? If you don't answer this question, you will not go to gym. (She says this smiling.) Many children try to answer the T's question. Raul, Because we trust the city. Gabrellia, If we all trust each other, we will have a perfect city. T: Ah, that's neat!

T to class: I'm going to bring a tape recorder to use during your free time. If you talk we will all be giving up gym time. Keenea claps her hands and says something to her neighbor. T to class: These are the people who are going to help me with the Christmas decorations. T calls several names. T: to Torry, a black boy, and Kim Lee, Would you like to help? They respond yes. T: to Torry, Can you do this? She gives him some materials for making the decorations.

T to class: Ready to go to gym. Children leave their seats and get their coats. As they are getting their coats, several children start to talk. Keenea, says ( in a large voice) be quiet! Two black boys say, shut up. T to class: Sit.

1:15 Ok looks like Row 3 is ready, row 2 is ready. Students start to line up at the door. All the rows are called. Several of the children talk as they line up at the door. Keith and Lamont ask me if I am going to gym with them. I reply no. I follow the children out of the classroom to the school entrance. At the entrance door, sitting on a chair is a man with a Santa Claus costume. As the children pass through the door he says, Merry Christmas.

Student inclusion for classroom academic activites is somewhat different than at Roman. At St. August, the teachers do less whole group instruction in reading ( which also includes spelling and English) and mathematics. One reason for this is that the classes are split, the 7th and 8th grade is one class, the 5th and 6th are in another and the 3rd and 4th are together. Oftentimes two different lessons are occurring simultaneously, as in the transcript. This example is fairly typical of what occurs in testing or class discussion activities. However, when correcting papers, or during oral reading, Ms. Hope and the other middle school teachers give all students an equal opportunity to participate either by calling on them by rows as in the example of Mrs. Rudman, or by moving around a circle if that is how the class is organized.

Black students, as well as other racial and ethnic groups are as likely to be called on, or chosen for various activities in the class. Praise and reprimands are nearly equally given to all of the middle grade students, with the exception of a black female, Gabrellia, in Ms. Hope's class. Gabrellia, a new student, has a history of child abuse and neglect. She arrived at St. August upon the advice of a social worker and psychologist. Gabrellia, repeatedly disrupts the class with questions and comments. Ms. Hope does not always respond to Gabrellia's requests, and sometimes chides her more frequently than other students. Raymundo, a nonblack student, is also very disruptive in class. Ms. Hope does not seem to be as reprehensive with him. From the transcipts, it appears, that Ms. Hope's treatment of Gabrellia, stems from the child's disorderly behavior rather than racial discrimination. For Ms. Hope equally praises black and nonblack females and males that are talkative as well as those that are more subdued.

While both schools manage to create the identity of a successful school achiever, the school cultural environments at

Roman and St August are remarkedly different. On the basis of the observation and interview data it appears that the philosophy at St. August is focussed on building norms and values which stress appreciation and respect for ethnic and racial differences and student social responsibility not only to the school, but also the neighborhood community, as well as the world (See chapter 9). These themes are clearly apparent in the language, rituals, ceremonies and activities of the teachers, administrators and students. The philosophy at Roman is built on the expectation that all students will perform above grade level in their academic pursuits. Competition with self rather than with one's friends is the goal; the issue is not how smart are you? but how smart can you become? While there is some attention to issues of social responsibility, the cultural tradition at Roman is high scholastic performance. Membership in the Roman school community for both black and nonblack students is attained by meeting the academic press of above average daily work, above average test performance and completing all homework assignments on time.

Thus each school has its own shared beliefs and values which are inculcated in the students. At St. August, communalism is the dominant theme, whereas at Roman, individual achievement is stressed. To attain full membership in either school communities, a student needs to fully understand and behave in accordance with these beliefs and values. However, there are situations in schools where the behaviors of the students, teachers or parents do not reflect the values of the school, or in other instances, the values may not be apparent or defined. Inclusion of the black students into the school culture at Roman and St. August can be examined during classroom instruction, special activities and projects which sometimes include families, recess and lunch, and informal interactions among the students. These events provide a context to observe how black students come to learn and feel part of the Roman and St. August culture. For purposes of illustration, the following discussion compares and contrasts how students at Roman and St. August achieve varying degrees of inclusion in the school culture.

During classroom instruction at both schools, black students are accepted as full members of their class and equitably treated. However, at St. August, the students are more directly involved in learning how to take responsibility for each other. For example, in religious classes which are a daily activity in every classroom, students have an opportunity to pray. Frequently, the prayers of black and non black students concerned the welfare of the teacher, or class, for example from several black students " I pray for everyone to have a good day today.", and from another seventh grade black child, " I pray that the eighth grade students will do well on their entrance exams for high school." Teachers at St. August also emphasize that students should be sensitive to the needs and concerns of their classmates. At Christmas time when many students were involved in a play, the fifth grade teacher tells the class, "The play people are having a hard time. Why are they having a hard time? " T calls on black focal girl, she answers, "Because they are nervous." T answers, "Yes, how can we help them?" Nonblack answers, "Encourage them." T, "Very nice word. Encourage them don't laugh at them... Make them feel comfortable, they are use to practicing in an empty cafeteria. Now all of a sudden there are their buddies, smiling, laughing, it is hard for them." And in another incident where a black focal child with many behavioral problems has left the school, the teacher explains to the class, "As I told you before, Gabrellia is gone. She is gone to another school because she needs special attention. She is having a hard time and needs your special prayers."

Building this sense of responsibility for each other was also evident in matters related to classroom management e.g., discipline, monitoring and supervising class and homework tasks. For example, at the end of the day the students are getting ready to leave the school and the children are quite talkative. The teacher in trying to keep the noise level down, asks the class if they want to stay after school. A non black boy starts to talk to his neighbor. The class all wave their hands indicating to the boy to stop. This type of interaction was fairly frequent. On several occasions, students were seen enforcing the class rules with one another, by telling each other to be quiet or sit down, or line up for lunch or gym. Students as well as the teacher act as disciplinarians. Whereas at Roman, the teachers do not expect or foster group responsibility norms for social behaviors.

In both schools, students are required to assist in the clean up and maintenance of the building, however, at Roman it is treated as an individual responsiblity. Lunchroom clean up is an undesirable task, and students hurriedly wipe tables oftentimes forgetting it is their turn. A frequent comment in the lunchroom is, "Whose turn is it to clean up the lunch tables? " In contrast, at St. August, clean up is used as an opportunity to build school pride. It is a shared activity and students look forward to helping in the lunchroom and are rewarded for their efforts with second lunches if they desire.

Students at St. August are also encouraged to take responsibility for improving the academic performance of their classmates. For example, in the fifth-sixth grade there is a "buddy study" system where students spend twenty to thirty minutes of reading time everyday testing each other on vocabularly comprehension and spelling. Teachers also permit students to help one another with reading and mathematics assignments. This is a particularly effective instructional activity for the split classrooms at St. August. While the teacher is engaged with one group of students, the other students are involved in a form of peer tutoring which provides them with additional instructional time. Another example of developing group responsibility for academic activities is evident in the many assigned group projects the students participate in social studies and science. Throughout the middle grades students are often divided into teams to produce reports. For example, the fifth and sixth graders were divided into citizen groups who were expected to write a group report to the mayor of Chicago on problems in their neighborhood e.g., violence, rape, and drugs. The most characteristic example of group projects occurred in religious services, such as Advent, St. Valentines Day, and the beginning of Lent. Each class prepares a poster, poem, or prayer which is presented at a school wide assembly. Both black and nonblack students were selected or volunteered to present the class project at the program. Services for Martin Luther King and a special program for black history month were similarly organized.

At Roman, developing a sense of responsibility is not emphasized. Helping each other with activities such as "buddy study" are unlikely to occur. Although there were several incidences of group projects, for example, in a social studies class, students could work in teams to write a research report on topics related to the study of India. This project tended to be the exception at Roman, where the majority of asssignments are completed individually.

Perhaps, because sense of responsibility for one's classmates is stressed at St. August one rarely finds black students not included in group activities even at informal times such as lunch and recess. At lunch for example, the girls and boys in all classes sit together, they do not have assigned seats. Over the course of the year, the students did not group themselves racially or ethnically. Sometimes, they were grouped by sex. In several instances cousins and extended families would eat together. For example, a black student told the observer while eating lunch that Jaquline, a black girl, eats with two black boys because they are her cousins. Jacquline also plays with these same boys at recess. Exclusion of black children from any tables was rare. In fact, the observer asked a black student who had been sitting with a group of black girls why she moved her seat, "I sit anyplace I like, because I can sit anywhere I like."

Friendship patterns across races was also apparent at St. August. One nonblack girl told the observer that she and a focal black girl had been best friends since kindergarten. Cross race friendships were common, and there was a group of several Asians and a black boy who constituted a stable social group. In the eighth grade, however, there was a group of seven black girls who often ate and played together at recess. This group of girls seemed not exclusionary in their play, but rather seemed to have the same interests and level of physical maturity. During lunch one of the black students explained that after school many of the kids played together at the boys club. Overall, the strong sense of love and care for one's neighbor, at St. August, seemed to foster cross racial friendships. There also was evidence of boy and girl flirtations across racial lines. For example, during the Christmas play, one of the black girls, who played a mother was dressed very sophisticatedly, several non black boys in the class whistled when she came across the stage. One of the non black boys taunted her saying, " Aren't you Mrs. Peters?," indicating that she was married to a black boy in the class. It was not unusual to find boys putting their arms on the shoulders of girls, and girls flirting with boys. These interactions occurred across racial lines.

At Roman the cross racial friendship patterns were very different than at St. August. Lunch seating, as at St. August was determined by the students and they were allowed to sit with whomever they pleased. In contrast to St. August, there were marked incidences of segregated friendship patterns. In the sixth grade there were a group of two black girls, who ate together every day. The observer asked one of the girls, who she ate lunch with, and the student replied, "I eat with Jennifer every day unless she is absent." Whenever the observer was present, this racial pattern was observed. When Jennifer was absent, the black focal girl ate with several high school black girls and interacted in gym and free times primarily with other Asian girls. The exclusion of these black girls whether by choice or determined by others according to one of the teachers interviewed, was unclear, although he was aware of the situation. From the observer's perspective, the black girls chose to be together because they were not accepted by the other non black students. For example, one of the focal girls, when at the library, was told by a group of non black students,"Away with you, " when she came over to see what they were doing. This phrase was not used to another nonblack girl who walked up to the group. One of the black focal girls was very dark, and the other who was lighter skinned was overweight.

What seemed consistent across grades for the girls, was the lighter the skin color of the black child the more likely she was to have non black friends. This was apparent for fifth, sixth and seventh grade girls. The exception occurred in eighth grade, where there were two black girls. One black girl, Sharon was dark skinned, very smart, " an excellent student" according to her teachers and very popular with her classmates. She was selected by her class, to give the class speech at graduation. Her friends were non black, and she was a marginal friend with the other black girl. Nancy, the other lighter skinned black girl was primarily friends with other non black girls. Neither girls had non black boyfriends, and rarely flirted with non black boys or the one black boy, Paul, in the class. Sharon's popularity with her non black peers was based on her personality and strong academic record which is highly regarded by the school. In many ways she was a "super star" which presented an almost untenable role model for the other black girls in the school.

The situation for the black boys was somewhat different. In the fifth grade, one of the very dark skinned black boys had superior atheletic talent and was accepted by the other non blacks in the class. The other black boy was a social outcast, which seemed not be based on race but more the result of his idosynicratic behaviors, such as constantly picking his nose. In the sixth grade there was only one black boy, he often ate alone, and rarely interacted with other students.

In the seventh grade the situation was markedly different. There were many more non black girls in the seventh grade than non black boys. There also were more black boys in the seventh grade than in any other grade, seven in total. In this group of seven, three of the black boys best friends were non black. Several of the black boys frequently ate lunch with nonblack girls. During passing periods, free times, and at lunch activity periods, flirtation between black boys and nonblack girls was observed. Two of the black boys emerged as class leaders. Girls as well as boys asked their opinions and approval of music groups, out of school social activities and class work. Of the two black girls in the seventh grade, one was light skinned, very attractive, physically mature, and had only non black girlfriends. The other girl, dark, small in stature and less physically developed, was the sister of one of the black boys who was also in the same grade. She was treated as the little sister of the group of seven black boys. Her friends were also non black. There was not a lot of interaction between the two black girls which could be the result of differences in physical maturity, which at the middle school age is more likely to occur.

Dating and boy girl parties at Roman were fairly common, even in the lower school. One fifth grade non black girl, had a boy and girl birthday celebration, where guests had to wear formal clothes. In the sixth grade, one focal black girl had a non black boyfriend, and they constantly wrote notes to each other. A sixth grade girl, told the observer, that three couples had gone out in a cab to a movie and dinner. In the seventh and eighth grade parties were also frequently discussed among black and non black students.

It appeared that at Roman, social interactions which involved boys and girls were tolerated by the school and sometimes encouraged. For example, in the fifth grade boys and girls had lessons in ballroom dancing. In contrast at St. August, social interactions between boys and girls were minimized. The social theme stressed at St. August is taking reponsibility for one's neighbor. At Roman, taking responsibility for one's neighbor was not stressed, although the school was trying to create a sense of social responsibility to society through service projects, such as a special choral program at an old age home. Perhaps, the sense of social responsibility Roman is trying to develop in regard to society might be clearer to the students if they started by learning how to take responsibility for their classmates.

Even though Roman has some problems with respect to developing positive individual interactions among black and non black students, it is working very hard on creating special events to build a sense of community in the school. For example in the beginning of the year, the entire school celebrated Chicago's 150th birthday. Teams of students from different grades, drew pictures representing Chicago's history on the sidewalk outside the two school buildings. The headmaster also instituted a requirement that every homeroom class had to plan a special service project for the school community. Some of the activities included a winter party for the kindergarten, a babysitting service for parents, and a splash party for sixth grade students. The school also scheduled special weekly activities for all students in the middle school, such as sweatshirt, and spirit week where students dressed in whatever they desired. One of the focal black boys had an exotic outfit with an oversized hat and sunglasses. His English teacher remarked when he came into the room, "I love your costume."

Whereas Roman school wide activities could be characterized as primarily sociable, St. August activities tended to focus on issues of major societal importance, such as U. N. day, where the children discussed differences in the cultures of the twenty-three different nations represented in the school and peace day, where students wrote poems and stories about the need for world peace. Other types of service projects at St. August were specifically designed to raise money for the school fund such as a bingo party the eighth grade sponsored for the entire school.

In addition to these special projects, both schools had holiday celebrations. At St. August, there were many more celebrations, and they all focused on religious events. Holiday celebrations at Roman were decidely non religious. For example, at Christmas time both schools had a play and exchanged gifts, however, the content of the play and the norms regarding the exchange of gifts was very different. At St. August, the school play was based on a family whose interest in Christmas was on receiving material gifts. As the play unfolds the family learns about the religious significance of the holiday. Instead of a Christmas or Channuka celebration, at Roman, the focus at the holiday season was on a Renaissance Fair. The children sang old English songs, performed readings from Shakespeare, and gave a bell concert. Roman deliberately avoided making any racial or ethnic distinctions among its student body.

In both schools, black students participated in special events. Three of the leads in the St. August play were black and at Roman several black students sang in the chorus and participated in the special bell celebration. Both celebrations were in the evening, and black and non black families were in attendance. Involving parents in school events was common at both schools. For example, Roman, and St. August began the year with an evening parents meeting, where the teachers and administrators reviewed the curriculum and activities that were planned for the year. Black and non black parents were in attendance at these meetings.

To summarize, at St. August, building of a sense of community is taken very seriously and begins with taking responsibility for one's classmates and extends through the community and the world. At Roman the notion of taking responsibility for one's classmates is not stressed. Rather Roman has focused its' efforts on trying to build a sense of reponsibility to the community outside the school. It would seem that the message of these outside projects needs to be brought to the classroom. As for building a school spirit which involves all the children, both schools, pay particular attention to involving black and non black students and their parents in special projects and activities.

Student Achievement

Academic achievement was the foremost goal of each of the four schools. However, we assumed that each school approached the development of academic excellence in their students quite differently. We assumed that each school communicated to teachers, students, and parents academic expectations which were consistent with their culture. Consequently, we expected that while the school environments would be different, they all would positively impact student motivation, self concepts of ability, and performance. Furthermore, academic standards would be similarily conveyed to black and non black students.

Academic expectations for black students in desegregated public school settings has been oftentimes inconsistent with the school's expectations for non black students (Rist, 1978, Leacock, 1969). Classroom research indicates that differential expectations for black students are translated into teacher behaviors and activities which contribute to poor black academic performance (Williams, 1981; Carew & Lightfoot, 1979; Rist, 1978; Leacock, 1969). School observations in this study were specifically designed to record if the same standards of performance were set for all students in their four major academic subjects ( e.g., reading/ language arts, mathematics, science and social studies). Moving beyond standards of performance, we also examined how the teacher organized and managed his or her classroom. Observers recorded how learning tasks were structured and how much instructional time was allocated for their completion. We also examined if all students were aware of the purpose of assignments, provided adequate instruction and resources, and received praise and other feedback for academic-related activities. Classroom routines, such as standard procedures for distributing materials or exiting the classroom during passing periods were also recorded. Throughout all these activities, observers paid special attention to whether black students understood their assignments, persisted in completing their assignments and the frequency and type of feedback they received on their performance. As in the instance of involvement, the observer was expected to interprete teacher standards and classroom management style from the perspective of focal black children.

The following transcripts from Roman and St. August were selected because they typify how teachers at these schools motivate, and construct learning environments which contribute to a successful school achiever.

## Background Information

1. Date: Tuesday, April 10, 1984
2. School: Roman
3. Observer: BLS
4. Class: Ms. Rosen's 7th grade English class.
5. Students: There are fourteen children in the class, six girls, eight boys. Four of the boys are black, Randall, Everett, Mark and Bobby. Randall and Mark are focal students.
6. Teacher: Ms. Rosen is a white female, approximately five feet tall and weighs about 100 pounds. She has short, dark black hair and brown eyes. Her features are very pleasant and she talks in soft tones. Petite in stature,and younger looking than her twenty-six years, she could easily be mistaken for one of her students. She is conservatively dressed in a plaid skirt, black vest and white shirt.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
   A. Subject Matter Focus: English
   B. Observation Time: 9:59- 10:39
   C. Instructional Level: Students are hetergeneously grouped for English.

D. Instructional strategy: Whole class

E. Materials: Books, homework, chalkboard

8. Narrative Description of the Physical Setting: Sixth, seventh and eighth graders are housed in the upper school building. Each student has a different schedule which he or she follows every day. Teachers and students move from class to class depending on their schedule. This classroom is on the third floor, and faces west. Walls are covered with blackboards with the exception of a picture window on the western side. The floor is carpeted, and students sit in moveable desks, arranged in rows. A flat table at the eastern side of the room serves as the teacher's desk. Most of the classes in the upper school building are similarly arranged. Every time I walk into one of these rooms, I feel as if I am in a small college lecture room. Bulletin boards, and other types of decorations so characteristic of an elementary school room are noticeably missing.

## Narrative

9:57 Students have just finished their activity period. During activity period, students are allowed to go to the lunchroom and buy breakfast snacks. Activity period lasts twenty minutes including passing periods. It serves as a type of recess, and is treated that way by the teachers. Students are free to roam about the lunch room cafeteria and outside in the halls. Loud talking is permitted as it is during regular passing periods.

Randall, one of my focal boys ( tall, about 5' 5 ", thin, with light skin and black facial features) is at his locker. He is playfully shoving a non black boy, similar in size. Randall closes his locker, says bye and starts down the hall. He enters the English classroom. Waiting about a minute, I follow him in. (Following students at Roman was sometimes disconcerting, and on one or two occasions, students would ask, Are you following me? Interestingly, I was not observing them. The problem of being intrusive was always present especially since classes were so small and had so few black students.)

As I entered the class Ms. Rosen was speaking to the class, Hand in your rough drafts, except Randall, I forgot you will have an extra day. ( Randall had been sick, and one of his family members was having serious health problems.) All of the students pass their drafts to the front of the class.

T to class: For your assignment to collect articles on American prejudice, don't expect to do everything next Wednesday night. You should be doing your art project every day. You can't paste and write about all your articles on the same night.

Randall to T: Do you have to read an example to the class? T to Randall, No, you have to read the novel Black Boy and tell the class what it is about, or you could write a summary of the novel and read that to the class. Or, you might want to plan a class discussion of the novel.

T to class: Try to be real accurate in your descriptions of your articles. Teacher begins to pass out papers to students. The first set are papers that have been corrected. She leans over Everett's desk, and points to a problem, and says, Correct that. Then Ms. Rosen begins to pass out assignment sheets. As she passes out papers, Trudy, sighs, Now we have another ton of sheets.

T to class: Now, I would like to go over some of your interpretative comments on the assigned pages in the novel To Kill a Mockingbird. OK, who can give us two reasons why Atticus should defend the "Negro?" (Teacher use of the word Negro I assumed was to stress how the town felt about blacks. It appeared to me that she was trying to get the students to respond to the prejudice of the town.) She calls on Ted. He answers, Well he (referring to Attticus) is not acting in a way that is representative of the whole city. He is acting in a non prejudice way. Kate raises her hand and is called on, to show his (Atticus) own individuality.

T to class: Stop and think. Is it hard to live up to your ideals? What would stop Atticus from living up to his ideals? Teacher calls on John, (whose hand was up immediately.) Well, the whole town would be on his back for defending a black person. Randall raises his hand and is called on. It says in the book, that if he defends the black man it could hurt his whole family. If he didn't like his family then it would not be so difficult for him. But because he cares about his family, that makes it very difficult for him.

T to class: What are your opinions? Do you think he should or shouldn't defend the black man? Jay raises his hand and is called on, He shouldn't represent him. He stands to loose the good relationship he has with his family. He would have to defend him against the whole town. I'm not prejudice, but...Is that what you wanted me to say? T looks at him and says, no, I wanted to know what you really think.

Paul raises his hand and asks, How did he get the case? If Atticus doesn't defend him who will? T answers: He was assigned the case. Jay, raises his hand, teacher calls on him, Then he should tell someone else to take it. T to Jay: But Atticus is among the best. Randall to T, Why doesn't he do that?, Have someone else take the case. ( This response from a black student was somewhat disturbing. However, given Roman's philosophy, not totally unexpected. I assumed that Randall who was having many family problems of his own, related to the chaos that would likely occur in the home, if Atticus took the case. However, not one of the other black boys in the class offered an explanation on why he should take the case.)

Ted to T: How smart is Atticus, if he defends him? Teacher replies, Remember Shakespeare, to thine own self be true? Jeff, raises his hand and is called on: Wouldn't be right if he didn't defend him. His mental conscience wouldn't let him not defend him. He knows he is not guilty. T to class: "Do you know what it is to be hypocritical? When someone tells you not to do something and does it themselves. Like your parents telling you to always tell the truth, and yet some of them will cheat on their tax statements.

Does being hypocritical affect your credibility? Jeff says aloud, My mother and father would say, do as I say not as I do.

T to class: Atticus knows he if doesn't defend the black man he will not be living up to his ideals. He will not be living up to the things he values and thinks are important. He can not be a hypocrite.

10:14 ( All students are on task, during class discussions students look at the teacher and raise their hands. She calls on people who tend to volunteer, except in situations where it appears that someone is not paying attention.)

T to class: Why does Atticus say it is okay for the kids to shoot bluejays with their air rifles? Why is it a sin to kill a mockingbird? Everett raises his hand, and is selected, because mockingbirds make music and bring joy. T to Everett, Good, who would like to read? Randall where is your book? He answers:
I left it at home. (Randall is always prepared.) T makes a questioning look with her face and calls on Heather to read. T to Heather: Page 94, beginning with the air rifles. ( She reads the following passage flawlessly),

When he gave us our air-rifles Atticus wouldn't teach us to shoot. Uncle Jack instructed us in the rudiments thereof; he said Atticus wasn't interested in guns. Attticus said to Jem one day, "I'd rather you shot at tin cans in the back yard, but I know you'll go after birds. Shoot all the bluejays you want, if you can hit ' em, but remember it's a sin to kill a mockingbird."

That was the only time I ever heard Atticus say it was a sin to do something and I asked Miss Maudie about it.

"Your father's right," she said. "Mockingbirds don't do one thing but make music for us to enjoy. They don't eat up people's gardens, don't nest in corncribs, they don't do one thing but sing their hearts for us. That's why it's a sin to kill a mockingbird."

T to class: Do you agree? Kate raises her hand and is called on, I don't think it's a sin, I just don't think you should. (T makes no comment.)

T to class: What character in the story could you compare to the mockingbird.What character does the mockingbird stand for?
Mark speaks out, Tom Robinson. T to Mark, Why do you say that? He answers, because they accussed him of something he didn't do.
T to class: Good, he is innocent. Randall speaks out, They are shooting at him with words. He didn't do anything.

Jay speaks out, Are mockingbirds black birds?
T to Jay: I don't know. T to class: What literary devise is using the mockingbird like that, a simile, a metaphore?
Carl speaks out, an image. T to Carl: More than an image.
Ted, calls out, Symbolism. T to Ted: Right, the mockingbird is a symbol. What are some other characters that the mockingbird may be symbolizing?

Kate raises her hand and is called on: Atticus, he adds a lot of

beauty and wisdom to the story.
Carl speaks out, Maybe Boo Radley, he was just out having a good time going to the movies.
Trudy to T: Miss Molly? Randall speaks out, I still stick with Tom Robinson.
Carl raises his hand and is called on, Maybe the mockingbird represents the black people that were persecuted. T to Carl: Nice point.

10:21 T to class: There are two major plots in this story, Boo Radley and the series of actions involving him, and how he got the children fascinated with him, and the Tom Robinson plot. Then there is an even larger plot that concerns all of Maycomb society.

Bobby speaks out, The whole trial, sets blacks against whites.

T to class, Who is called a nigger lover? Why does that upset people so much?

Nancy raises hand, called on, Atticus, There was extreme racial prejudice against the blacks, people who were good to blacks were called that.

Jeff speaks out, Black people were looked at as inferior, they were seen as less intelligent and deserved fewer rights. It wasn't until the Civil Rights movement that their lives changed a little. Atticus tries to love everyone.

10:29 T to class: Nigger lover is a prejudicial term used by people to show that they were foolish because they cared about blacks. Well, we are now on page 113, and about a third of the way done with the story. You should know the main idea of the story.

Jeff speaks out, Atticus knows he probably can't win for Tom Robinson but he is going to try to do his hardest to do what is right.

T to Jeff: Good, now let's run down the character list, remember who the people are, how they feel about blacks, Miss Maudie, and Francis. Ok., that's all the discussion on Mockingbird for today. In the time that is remaining let's diagram sentences. T writes on the board, Isn't she a famous ballerina. And then writes, Mr. Smith gave us homework after the lecture. T, turns back to the class and says, Remember what we do with questions.

Students take out pieces of paper and begin writing down sentences. As the students are working the teacher begins to diagram the sentences on the board. T to class:See if you can finish your own without peeking at mine. T goes over to Kate, and says, I think you want to change that, homework is the direct object. As students finish they look up at the board, a few grin, others shake their heads. Randall says, Yes.

T to class: Okay next 20 pages for tonight. Don't forget your reports. Here are some assignments for the reading tonight.

T passes out papers to class.
10:39 Students wait for their papers and then leave the classroom.

This transcript highlights several important characteristics concerning Roman's approach to learning. First, all the classes are very organized. Every major academic class has homework every night, which is carefully monitored and graded. In-class activities such as class discussions or quizes are structured on the prior evenings homework. Black and non black students are nearly always prepared for class activities, unless as in the case of Randall, a student misses school because of illness. This same type of regimentation is also apparent at St. August, as indicated in the following transcript. The major differences between the two schools is that at Roman, there appears to more opportunities for the development of abstract thinking skills than at St. August where instruction seems to more concrete.

## Background Information

1. School: St. August
2. Date: Monday, October 3, 1984
3. Observer: YL
4. Class: Ms.Baird's 7th and 8th grade
5. Students: There are thirty- three students in the class, eighteen girls, nine of whom are black, and fifteen boys, four of whom are black. Black focal children include, Daniel (a sixth grader who comes in this class for reading), Monica ( a sixth grader who comes in this class for reading) Ronald, Torry, Malinda, Yolanda, and Roberta.
6. Teacher: Ms. Baird is white, about 5' 4'', dark brown hair, brown eyes, plesant face, nice voice, simple hair style with two hair pins.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
   A. Subject Matter Focus: Reading/ Language Arts
   B. Observation Time: 9:30 - 11:30
   C. Instructional Strategy: There are three reading groups, Emblem (High), Point ( Middle), and Questionary (Low). While T. discusses or corrects papers with one group, the other group does their individual assignments.
   D. Materials: Books, dictionary, worksheets
8. Narrative Description of the Physical Setting: The room is small for the thrity-five desks which are placed in five rows. There

is not enough room to put in one more line of desks and chairs. The teacher's desk is at the front corner. The left side has three large windows, decorated with plants. There are bookshelves on left and back walls. There is a large closet at the right side of the classroom, (north), with a cabinet and hangers for children's clothes. They don't have lockers. Because of this closet, the inside of the classroom is not shown when one opens the door of the classroom. Blackboards are at the front and right side. Blackboards are decorated with current events and student essays. At the front, over the blackboards, a cross and religious paintings and writings are hung.

The room is bright and pleasantly decorated. A photo of Martin Luther King is hung next to one of Albert Einstein. As the room is small for the number of desks,it gives one the feeling of being overcrowded. I sat in the back, and when students had to pass in front of me, I would have to turn my body to the side.

## Narrative

Roberta was writing something at a table attached to the back wall. ( She might be finishing up her assignment.) Children moved around changing their seats. (Later, I found that they have a different seating arrangement in reading class because of different reading levels.)

T: Passed out papers. While she is passing out papers many children move to the pencil sharpener. Principal came in briefly.

T said to two children: What are you doing? ( In a disciplinary voice. It became very quiet.)

T to class: For those people whose corrections are passed out when I come by, check them. T passed out a few more papers. Stegie ( a black girl) came over to Roberta,( a black focal girl) who was still at the back table. They discussed some problem on Stegie's paper. T talks to Gregory. John comes over to Doan to ask about a book.

9:35 T pulled out books from different shelves. She gave those to me and explained briefly that they had 3 groups. Enblems were the top readers ( Sixteen students are in this group.). Point, the next group, consists of nine people who sit at the front of the room, on the right. T was going to start working with them today. Questionary, the last group, consists of eight people, directly seated in front of T's desk. Student assignments for today were written on the black board. Also on the board, was a list of names, beside which was written, assignments owed.

9:38 T started to work with the Point group. The students used Point-A Magazine Reader as their main book. They also have a reading skills book (RSB) and a writing skills book (WRB). The main text for the Questionary group was a book entitled Questionary. They also have a reading skills book and a writing skills book. Texts for the Enblems group include, Warner's English Book for

Grammar and Composition. a spelling book by Sadler/Oxford, and a textbook. Assignments were written on the board for each group, in close proximity to where they were seated. Questionary assignments were, 1. Writing Skills book, pp. 19-20, 2. Vocabularly, definition and spelling, 3. reading skills sheet 13 and 4. read pages 52-61 (in Questionary). Enblems assignments were, 1. Vocabulary, definition and spelling, 2. read pages 66-77 ( Enblems) and 3. Answer questions. Point assignments were writing skills book pp. 16-17, and 2. 15 sentences.

T: corrects answers with Point group for about 15 minutes.

9:52 T started writing numbers after each vocabularly word on the board. She read the words loudly and several times. There were nineteen words which included some of the following, enchanter (54), sinister (56), gloomily (53), and haughtily (54). Numbers represented page numbers in the textbook where the words could be found. After T finished reading the words, she told the group she would be back when she finished with the Point group.

While the T was working with the group, several children leave their seats, get dictionaries, hand out papers and chat quietly to a friend. One black girl, Susan reads the essays on the back board.

Jose and Ronald ( black focal boy) talk.

T: Jose!" "Rafael! (Discipline.) T to Jose: Page 42, how many stanzas are there?" Jose answers incorrectly. T goes over to Jose and points out the correct page.

Ronald brings a cup of water for the T, who was working with the Point group. T to Ronald: Thank you.

T to Point group: Do you sometimes feel lonely? If your friends understand you, if they understand what you are saying, then you don't feel lonely. ( She talked fast, but her voice was clear and pleasant.) Children in Point group read taking turns. (Jose does not read well, peerhaps he is an immigrant student.)

T begins to ask students about what they have finished reading.T asks, What is a true friend going to do? Children raise their hands. She calls on Ping, he answers. (I could not hear his answer.) T to group: If he says, 'Oh, you are still a baby,'he is not a true friend... What is the surprise? What does the surprise say to you about friends? Peter answers: A friend can see what you see, that is the surprise.

10:08 Director of Religious Education comes into the room and gets the film that was used during religion class. Most of the children work on their tasks quietly.

T to group: B O U G H, what does it mean, Ming? She answers. T to group: Okay now look it up in your dictionary, what is a B O U G H? ( I realize that T always gives feedback to childrens' answers and explains more if necessary.)

10:10 Not on task, Ronald ( black focal boy).

T to Point group: When you start to do something, there are lots of confusing words. So don't be confused. (When each child took a turn to read the book the T moved her lips as if she was reading it also. She sometimes would watch the child who was reading with an encouraging look.) Everyone is stumbling over words. With good reason. What does that tell you? The English language has some of the most difficult words to pronounce. It is not so difficult for native speakers. For anybody who is learning English as a second language it is hard because of all the different spellings, it is a crazy language.

T made Point group practice pronouncing a phrase which was a tongue twister. (Because it was funny, other groups of children watched. However, they soon returned to their work.)

T to Point group: You will need a glossary for the next assignment, so turn to page 518. I will show you how to use the key in the book. She helps the children with pronounciations. Hogan, what does it mean? Curd? She asked each child a different word. On your assignment sheet you match up words with similar vowel sounds.

T wrote on blackboard, The angry dog barked loudly at the stranger. What is the subject? Then she wrote, The tired old man slept peacefully. What is the subject, what is the noun? (Ping asked many questions, but I could not hear.)

T to Point group: By the way, this Friday, you will have a spelling test as usual. You will also have a reading and English test. You will need your reading book for your test. For the English test I will ask you about sentences...Right? Those tests are on Friday.

10:25 Four students not on task, Ronald ( black focal boy), Hugh (black), Gregory and Brian.

T hands out assignment sheets to the Questionary group. She asks the group: What is the most important thing in this paper? children answer. T in a loud voice comments: The directions! Directions are the most important. (T comes over to me and gives me a copy of the assignment sheet.)

Point group started working with their assignments. Four non black boys were not on task.

T moved her chair over to the Questionary group, she sits down next to Daniel, black focal boy and shakes his hand. ( I don't know why.) T talks to Daniel, (I cannot hear). Daniel goes to the black board and writes down the page numbers for the vocabularly words as the teacher calls them out.

Peter asks a question to the teacher ( I can not hear.) She replies, That's different. Grooms are people. That is a verb, groomed.To Questionary group: All right, let's correct your work first and lets go on to this vocabularly. Okay, are we ready? For the sentence, She is harmless, the less is circled. For the next sentence, the ship is circled in scholarship. While T reads correct answers she watches the childrens' faces.

Daniel tells teacher something about the assignments on the board. Right, put RSS 11 on top. To Questionary group: Right, reading skills book 15, 16, 17. Albert raises his hand and asks a question. T replies, no. Daniel raises his hand, T replies, No that is half, you have to listen to him. Albert raises his hand again, T replies, That's right. Daniel looks at T's book. T to Daniel: Does it say it exactly? No, pointing to problems in Daniel's paper. T says, That's wrong, circle this and this (Albert seems to ask too many questions. T did not seem to like his questions.) Albert asks another question, T replies: You have to listen better! Agreed? ( With an unapproving face.) Daniel said something, and T replies, Ya! She continues correcting papers.

Ming asks a question the teacher just answered. She replies in a raised voice: I just said it, listen! Put 15 and 16 on top and 17 underneath.

While T correcting papers, Stegie, black girl talks with Roberta (black focal child). Juan coming back from putting his book away touches Stegie's hip with his hip. Stegie stared at him with an angry face. He smiled. Miguel, repeats answer 18 quite loudly to T. She says to Miguel: I just told you to check it, don't yell it out.

11:00 Four children not on task, two blacks, Stephanie and Taks, and Peter and Michael.

T to Questionary group: Last time you did a very good job with vocabularly. Remember to make it a complete sentence. Daniel stared at Albert with a mean face. T to Daniel: Only 25 minutes left, be patient.

T calls: Peter. (discipline).

Children in Questionary group go and get their books. T to Questionary group: Okay Questionary group do you have any questions?

Daniel picks up a dictionary and hands it to Sandra. Roberta leaves Stegie's desk and goes back to her table.

T wrote following names on board, Sheritta ( black girl), Stephanie, and Monica (black focal girl). (Later I found out that these children owed corrections for this period on their work.)

Tuete ( black girl), Handed out papers to children. Percentages such as 100 were written on each paper. As Tuete passed the papers out, she talked. T to Tuete: Passing the papers does not mean you can talk.

T walked around the group, she answered Torry's question ( black focal male), Roberta's question and Gregory's question.

11:15 Not on task, Stegie looks at manicured nails. Keith (black boy) looks at Stegie and smiles. Keith touches Stegie's head with a pencil. She smiles back at him. ( Maybe they are attracted to one another.) Stegie looks at Keith's work.

T is called outside the room, she is gone for a short time. While she is out the children make some noise. The T enters the class and continues to answer student questions.

(The class is not very calm now.) Children start to talk.

T to Class: Shush. People, I know you have a lot of books. But keep them in one file on your desk. Don't spread them out. This is not your bedroom.

T continues to answer questions. Stegie and Keith continue to talk. Taks, a black girls asks T a question. T explains and says, Do you understand? She replies Okay.

T sees Jose standing up, she makes a half smiling face and he sits down.

11:28 T to class: You had a very good morning today. Daniel, Jose, and Juan used their time well. All of us used our time well. You must be proud of yourselves. There were no punishments. It means progress. Okay you are dismissed.

( It seems to me that maybe Daniel, Jose, and Juan are problem students.They were good enough but not better than other students. I interpreted teacher's compliment as a comparison with their usual behavior rather than a comparison with other students.)

St. August, places a great deal of importance on reading and language arts and it takes up the majority of instructional time during the morning, except for 40 minutes of prayer time. Each of the teachers has three different levels of reading groups. The three highest groups are in the seventh and eighth grades. Prior to the lesson, assignments for each of the groups (in all classes) are written on the black boards. Students who have not completed the previous day's assignments are listed on the black board. The teacher reviews with each group what their assignments will be for the morning. Most exercises can be completed without specific direction from the teacher. In this instance, the teacher begins the reading class with the middle group and proceeds to devote the majority of her time to this group. Inspection of all transcripts indicates that she tends to spend more direct instructional time on the middle and lowest group. This pattern of teacher behavior is inconsistent with some of the classroom research which shows that teachers tend to give less instructional time to lower reading groups.

Black and non black students appear to be on task, most of the time. When inspecting the complete set of transcripts, it appears that this teacher and the other teacher in the fifth and sixth grade come to depend on certain black and non black students to help them with instruction. Discipline is achieved by calling a student by name. The teacher's comment about punishments at the end of the transcript refers to two different types of classroom control. First, when students chew gum or hand in their homework assignments late they owe a penance to the school fund. A penance is usually a few pennies, for chewing gum it is twenty cents. It is interesting that the school uses the concept of paying a penance for inappropriate behavior, which is consistent with the ideological tradition. Another punishment is staying after school. This punishment is typically given when assignments are not corrected. Several teachers stay until 5 o'clock to go over incomplete assignments.

As for enhancing the student's sense of his or her ability to achieve, it is clear from this transcript that problems from the school's perspective, are external to the student. For example, it is interesting that the teacher in the transcripts puts problems of pronounication on the English language rather than on the child. Moreover, she continues to demonstrate problems with the English language by introducing humorous tongue twisters which make the students feel more at ease in their efforts to master English. This message is probably best represented by the fifth grade teacher who frequently tells black and non black students " you are smart." Another important message at St. August, is that you can do it, but it is going to take a lot of work. Students receive many assignments not only in language arts and reading but also in mathematics. Every paper that is handed in is graded, and returned to the student, to make corrections. The process continues, for each teacher has their own system for carefully monitoring corrections.

Although Roman and St. August are committed to developing academic skills in their students they approach and carry out their goals in distinctively different ways. Examining the schools at a macro level, they appear to share a highly structured organization and management style, conduct frequent evaluations of black and non black academic progress, and generally provide positive feedback to all students on their school performance. Basic differences between the schools center on instructional styles ( St. August academic tasks are more concrete than Roman which seem to be more abstract) and resources ( pupil- teacher ratio, 33 to one at St. August is approximately twice that of Roman, fifteen to one; textbooks and materials which are in limited supply at St. August and nearly unlimited at Roman). Closer inspection of these schools at the micro level reveal that similarities and differences can be traced and linked to each school's culture.

Examining Roman and St. August in somewhat greater detail, it appears that the academic performance of black and non black students is the result of how these schools define and translate their goals into school life. For example, the expectation at both schools is that all students black and non black can and will meet all academic demands. To ensure that the students meet these expectations the schools organize and manage their learning environments so that all students acquire basic skills in major academic subjects. The most outward manifestations of these expectations are clear directions and explanations by the teachers, careful monitoring and supervising of classroom work, frequent praise and encouragement, consistent evaluation and demanding homework policies.

In both schools, teachers consistently began their lessons by referring to previous work, explaining what assignments would be covered in class and what assignments were due in the coming weeks. Benchmarks, such as "Remember class today we will be going over your topic outlines for your reports, due in two weeks," or "Today we are continuing with our myth stories, I have five people left to report, Friday we start Old Yeller, be sure you have read pages 1-30, there may be a pop quiz" were commonly used at both Roman and St. August. We asked the teachers to show us their plans before the weeks of the observation period. In every instance at these two schools, teachers had planned extensively for each lesson, moreover, plans clearly matched classroom activities.

Study periods were part of the week's scheduled activities for both schools. Separate times were designated as study periods, which did not occur every day nor did teachers use other class time for study periods. Students were nearly always on task. At both St. August and Roman students receive homework every night in their major subjects. Students in lower ability groups at St. August, receive additional assignments, and teachers are willing to provide tutorial help after school so that they can catch up to their class.

Student evaluation such as essay exams, math quizes, language arts tests are common to both schools. At Roman, student evaluations are very sophisticated and similar to the type of evaluation procedures followed in high school or college. For example, sixth, seventh and eighth grade students have final exams which are given in January and at the end of the academic year in June. During exam week students come to school, only for their tests which last over an hour. Subject area exams, such as English, math, science, and social studies are given on different days. Exams are written in the traditional college "blue book". Semester grades are based on these exams and the quarters work. As the sixth grade math teacher explains, "Let me tell you how your semester grade reports were calculated. First, I took your second quarter grade which included 20 percent for homework, 10 percent for your computer grade and seventy percent for quizes and test grades, which included your final examination which counts as two regular tests. Then I took your first semester's work and added it to your second semester's work and then I divided by two."

Student evaluations at St. August do not mirror high school or college procedures, however, they are as frequent and taken as seriously as they are at Roman. One difference between the two schools, is that at St. August, the school gives the Iowa Tests of Basic Skills and places a great deal of importance on test results. Roman did not give standardized tests the year we observed in the schools and placed little importance on test results. The seriousness of the Iowa Tests is reflective, in that both teachers in the middle school had review sessions for the Iowa test and passed out practice materials. The following comments were made by the seventh-grade teacher,

> "I am going to pass out work sheets which review math aspects of the tests of the next few days. Some of the work on these sheets is very similar to the type of work that will be on the tests. At the end of the math period, I will go over this with you. Tomorrow, we will be taking reading, vocabularly and some of the spelling. But since this is a math period, this is for you to review tonight and tomorrow...The test booklet you will receive tomorrow is the same booklet you had last year. But since you are in a different grade you will be taking a different level...I am doing this to help you for the test. So you better listen. It is not for my sake but for your sake. Let's go on page by page. And you do it yourself and then at the end of the period I will review it with you.... A student asks if the problems will be on the test...No, but problems like it.

There are several reasons why St. August pays attention to these tests. To be admitted to a Catholic high school, or one of Chicago's academic high schools, the student must reach a specific cut off point on this test. Second, the IOWA test is given in the neighborhood public schools, and it is good publicity for the school if their students can score at grade level.

Both schools pay particular attention to building the confidence of their students and frequently praise good work. Frequently heard were comments, such as "excellent, good work, Let's make today as good as yesterday." When students do not meet expectations, teachers share their dissatisfaction with the students. For example the biology teacher comments to Sharon, a black focal girl who is an excellent student, "I am really disappointed in your grade this semester." In both schools, the most grievous form of misbehavior was not completing class or homework assignments. At St. August, the remedy was making students stay after school, at Roman, the pop quiz. As one teacher states, "the only way to get people to study is the give pop quizes."

Students as well as teachers take their academic work very seriously. This is apparent in an exchange between, Rita a black focal girl and Elaine, a non black girl. Rita to Elaine, " Can I copy your homework? Elaine replies, "Rita", sounding almost dejected. Elaine continues," No, but I will show you how to do it." She opens her book and begins explaining the problems to Rita. Cheating on exams was not observed at either Roman or St. August. The help Elaine gives Rita is somewhat uncharacteristic of Roman, whereas at St. August, students typically help one another, but they do not give answers or papers to copy.

In comparison to St. August's pride in their ethnic and racial differences, Roman derived its pride from their high academic standards. An example of this was the fifth grade math fair, where students made their own math games and awards were given for the best game. Teachers took tremendous pride in the level of academic work they demanded of their students. For example one teacher commented that she had used the same copy of Romeo and Juliet for five years, adding new parts of speech and symbolism examples each year. The seventh grade math department used a xeroxed copy of a 1960's math book because they felt that current math series did not ask enough questions that required higher order thinking skills.

However, the greatest difference between the two schools with respect to achievement, concerned Roman's attention to abstract type of learning activities as compared to St. August's more concrete approach. For example, at St. August when studying the newspaper, sixth students had to write articles similar to the parts of a paper, such as a weather report, sports story, editorial on violence and so on. At Roman, sixth graders studying the newspaper worked on inferences. If the title of an article was "Candidates Popularity Crashed From Iowa Caucus" students had to write what they could infer from the title. They examined cartoons and were expected to write what they could infer from the humorous message. In science, students at Roman had to do experiments which demonstrated scientific principles, whereas at St. August, much of science was based on memorization of body parts and functions. Both schools had drug problems, St. August chose to show a very graphic movie, at Roman, students role played how they would confront their friend if they found out he or she was using drugs. Concentration on concrete learning activities place St. August students at a disadvantage on standarized tests and future academic experiences which rely on more abstract type of thinking skills.

Graduation provided an excellent opportunity to observe black student academic success. At St. August, the graduation ceremony is a religious service which is very consistent with the school's culture. Students recite psalms, prayers and make speeches.

Prayers are also given by the principal and pastor. Special awards are given to students for their academic performance as well as their deportment such as punctuality, courtesy and service. Five of seven awards went to black students. Melinda, one of the black focal girls received the highest award for punctuality, attendance, English achievement, mathematics achievement and effort. Roberta another black focal girl also received an award for courtesy, and Ronald, a black focal boy received an awward for English achievement. Two non focal black children also received awards, Stegie for mathematics achievement, and Keith for punctuality and mathematics achievement. Melinda in many ways symbolized the St. August school spirit, she was a strong student, well respected by her peers and cooperative and caring. During the graduation mass four students gave special prayers two of whom were black. Roberta's was " God, thank you for our parents and teachers," and Ronald's was "God help us to keep our dream alive."

Roman's graduation ceremony was also a solemn occasion. The girls were dressed in white formal dresses, a few of them floor length, and the boys wore suits. Graduation ceremonies started with a bell concert, processional, speeches by sixth and seventh graders, followed by a speech by the headmaster. The focus of the headmaster's speech was on discipline. During the eighth grade trip to Washington, several students acted inappropriately. What they did was unclear from his speech; the headmaster used this event to stress that the actions of a small group were not consistent nor representative of Roman's reputation. As the entire middle school was in attendance, the implicit message was that student's who do not live up to Roman's reputation would not be allowed to remain in the school.

After the headmaster's speech he presented several awards for academic excellence in English, language, mathematics, music and art. Seven seventh grade students were named to the Junior Honor Society. Only one black student received an award, Bobby, who became a member of the honor society. After the awards, Sharon a black focal girl was selected by her class and teachers to give the graduation speech for the eighth grade. Sharon's speech, moreso than the headmaster exemplified the Roman philosophy. She thanked her teachers and parents for helping the students meet the academic challenges and demands of eighth grade. To her classmates she acknowledged their friendship and moral support and the distance that would soon come between those going to different schools. But perhaps the most significant point she made was that "the class had earned the honor of sitting on the stage". In the academic intensive environment of Roman school, Sharon stressed, what most black and non black students come to learn, one earns success at Roman school by meeting high performance standards. Academic achievement at Roman school is a very serious and highly valued activity.

Student Identity

The last construct we focused our observations on was student identity. Specifically, we sought to record activities and events which the school formally and informally recognizes which were likely to affect a child's sense of racial and ethnic pride. For example, celebration of Martin Luther King's birthday or black history month can provide a black child with the opportunity to have his or her sense of ethnic or racial identity reinforced. Similarly, if the school chooses not to recognize certain holidays or important events this also conveys a message to the child.

In these final two transcripts, a seventh grade social studies teacher at Roman and the seventh and eighth grade teacher at St. August are discussing the problems of apartheid in South Africa. National attention on the question of civil rights for blacks in South Africa was becoming a major presidential campaign issue. Increasingly, more Americans, including college students were speaking out in favor of divesture. The following discussions occurred within this international political context.

### Background Information

1. School: Roman
2. Date: Friday, March 9, 1984
3. Observer: BLS
4. Class: Mrs. Green's 7th grade
5: Students: There are twelve students, 7 boys and 5 girls. Three of the twelve students are black, Randall, a black focal boy, Bobby, a black boy and Jamie, a black girl. The other non black boy students are, Richard, Benjamin, Grayson, Tim, and Kirk. The non black girl students are Christie, Judith, Marla and Alison.
6. Teacher: Mrs. Green is a black female, approximately 5' 2" tall and weighs about 150 pounds. She has a very dark complexion, and black features. Her hair is short, straight and dark brown. Mrs. Green is the only black female teacher in the middle and upper school, the only other black teacher is a male.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
    A. Subject Matter Focus: History
    B. Observation Time: 9:00-9:40
    C. Instructional Level: History classes are grouped

heterogeneously.
D. Instructional Strategy: Whole class discussion
E. Materials: Map
8. Narrative Description of the Physical Setting: The history classroom is on the third floor of the building, on the southern side. Students sit at desks and tables. The room is arranged with four students sitting on one side of a table on the east side of the room. Six desks are arranged in rows at the north side of the room. One boy sits at a table in the back of the room. To the left of this table is another desk. The teachers'desk is at the northwestern corner of the room. In contrast to the English and mathematics rooms, the history classroom is slightly more decorative, with maps, and flags of different countries.

## Narrative

When I entered the room, the students were discussing South Africa.
9:00 T to class: You have to show a pass to get from the eastern part of South Africa to the western section.
Jamie to T: What if you wanted to leave the country?
T to Jamie: Then, you have to petition the government in order to leave the country. Jamie to T: But what would happen if you didn't do that, or they wouldn't let you. Couldn't you just make a boat and leave? T to Jamie: Jamie, you can't sit on a log across the ocean. If you wanted to get out then you would get out. Your spirit wouldn't be easily oppressed.

Kirk to T: Do they really go around checking passes? T to Kirk: Yes they do.( Quite emphatically.) That's why there have been revolutions. Can't keep us in an apartheid situation. Remember when we discussed shanty towns. Randall speaks out: Those are real shabby places. Jamie adds: They're like the projects ( referring to the Chicago Housing Authority projects for low income families. One of the largest complexes of these projects, which houses black families is three blocks west of the school. No students from the projects attend Roman school.)

T to class: The fight in South Africa has been coming on for a long time. Rhodesia, is now Zimbabwe after a bloody revolution. There is peace now. It came in the late 1970's. Stevie Wonder recorded a song about the revolution.

9:15 T to class: We don't have a map or I could show you.
( She pulls down a map of Europe, Randall and Benjamin get up and help her put back the map. She pulls down another map which shows South Africa.) T to class: Here's South Africa. Now here is the part which is no longer Rhodesia. People fought for their independence. These people would rather be involved in a big struggle where they could lose their lives than be ruled by another group of people.

Kirk to T: If you ( referring to T ) were in South Africa how could you get a pass to get into the city?
T to Kirk: Here we go, now there are international zones in the

country where there is no apartheid, no separation. I wouldn't be kept out of the international areas.

Alison to T: I would love to go on a safari. Would you go to South Africa? ( referring to T).

T to class: Would I go to South Africa? Why would I ( is stressed) go to South Africa? That's a country that holds people of my color in an oppressive state. South Africa is not a place where I want to be. The country has made a statement about how they feel about black people.

Grayson to T: If a black South African wanted to look for work, how would you get a pass to work? Randall speaks out, Bet you have to pay for a pass. T: No, when you reach a certain age the government issues you a pass. Then you have a problem. There are only so many jobs for blacks, such as nanny, servant, or working in the mines. If you wanted to go to the university, you would have to have someone stand as your sponsor. Most black people do nothing.

Richard to T: Let's say you are a black man and work for an international company. And this company transfers you to South Africa. What would happen to you? T to Richard: Now I think that situation is unlikely. But if it happened, I expect you would be treated with a large degree of indifference. But, what black person would want to go through the humiliation?

Benjamin to T: Say I was a newspaper reporter and I wanted to go to South Africa to talk to blacks. T to Benjamin: Then the South African government would discourage you. Moreover, if you were a newspaper reporter with a liberal paper they probably would not let you in. Randall speaks out: My mom is an editor, but I don't think she wants to go to South Africa.

9:30 ( All of the students appear to be listening. However, during the discussion, Alison plays with Jamie's ( black focal girl) hair.

T to class: People in the United States who don't like apartheid have pressured banks to divest themselves of their holdings in South Africa. Blacks want liberation of all blacks around the world. We can not be happy until this is resolved. Judith and Christie brought in a good article titled, "Revolt on the Belt." The article tells about life in South Africa. You must remember the blacks can't even vote in South Africa. There are many reasons why the whites and blacks are fighting.

Benjamin to T: The situation makes me think of the Jews in Russia, they are like the blacks in South Africa. There is no religion in the Soviet Union. Jews can't practice their religion. The government compares religion to drugs, they say religion is the drug of the people. My parents can't go to Russsia. The K. G. B. know that my family are Jewish sympatheizers. They have helped several Jewish families escape from Russia.

Kirk to T: Let's say there is a revolution and the blacks take over. Wouldn't there be a massacre? I bet things would get wild.

T to Kirk: Why would you think it has to be bloody?
Bobby to Kirk and T: Blacks don't want to kill. (Bobby is a black boy. He is an excellent student. In the beginning of the year, he rarely spoke out in class, and never mentioned anything related to his black identity or the problems of other black people. His comment in this context is significant, and I think partially reflective of his interactions with Ms. Green. She seems to draw out from the black children more of a sense of racial pride than any of the other teachers.) T smiles at Bobby.

T to class: There are about 5, 000, 000 whites in South Africa and about 27, 000, 000 blacks, so it is obvious who is the majority. Whites are afraid to let the blacks begin to vote because they know they will no longer be in the majority. Another reason why they don't want to let the blacks vote is because they believe that blacks are inferior. Tensions are very great in South Africa. People are afraid to take a chance. It is sad and frightening to think about the way that blacks are living in South Africa.

Grayson to T: What is the U.S. doing about this?
T to Grayson: Not a lot; it is a political hot potatoe. For example the Illinois Retirement Fund has its money invested in South Africa. A lot of other unions have their resources invested in South Africa. The United States has a lot of money in South Africa and they don't want to pull out. We even have companies over there because the labor is so cheap. We have to look at this problem from both a humanistic side and a monetary side. On the humanistic side the situation is terrible for the blacks. On the monetary side, a lot of Americans are making money in South Africa and they don't want to decrease their profits. The whites of South Africa look at this problem primarily from a human resource side. You have to come up with a solution that is ethical.

T to class: Okay, Randall, handle, ( T makes rhymes with student's names.) Christie, Back to the land of the pizzerias. We still have a quiz on Monday.

Randall to T: We are going to another country. Say we are an illegal alien, and we came from Asia to America. What do we have to do to become a U. S. citizen?

T to Randall: Study naturalization. ( Randall's question concerns the quiz on Monday. T response here refers to what he is suppose to study for the quiz.)

Randall to T: What if you are a black from South Africa, and you got out, can you be naturalized?

T to Randall: Watch the T.V. program on immigration. ( One of the assignments for the students was to watch a special program on immigration.) Okay class.

There is some noise as children get ready to pass to their next class. I overhear the following conversation. Christie to Jamie: A lot of blacks are prejudice against whites. Jamie, who did your mother vote for? Jamie: Harold Washington. What about your mother? Christie: No, she didn't, she is white, I'm not sure.

9:35 Children leave the room.

Ms. Green's teaching style is very different from other Roman teachers. First, she relates personal experiences involving racial issues to class discussions. For example, when studying the civil rights movement she told the class about her family ties with Martin Luther King. During discussions of the labor movement she explained to the class how recent auto strikes were affecting the lives of her relatives who were laborers in Detroit. Ms. Green unlike some other Roman teachers, openly recognizes racial differences and displays a positive racial identity to her students. Her comment of "why would I want to visit a country where people of my color are in an oppressive state? " reveals how distinctly different she is from other Roman teachers who rarely communicate their feelings about their own ethnicity or racial identity to their students. Moreover, she is one of the few teachers who consistently identifies black leaders and historical events that black students can relate to positively. For example, in discussions of India, she frequently favorably compared India's struggle for independence and Gandhi's nonviolent resistance approach to Martin Luther King. Although discussions of prejudice and racial segregation occurred in other classrooms, they tended to be in the context of a specific academic assignment and at a theoretical level. Ms. Green, uses incidences of racial prejudice as opportunities to develop an awareness of social injustice and sense of social responsibility among black and non black students.

At St. August, with its diverse student population, the discussion of racial discrimination in South Africa is related to discrimination encountered by various minority groups in other countries as well as the United States.

## Background Information

1. School: St. August
2. Date: Wednesday, December 7, 1983
3. Observer: YL
4. Class: Ms. Baird's 7th and 8th grade
5. Students: There are thirty-three students in the class, eighteen girls, nine of whom are black, and fifteen boys, four of whom are black. Black focal children include Ronald, Torry, Malinda, Yolanda, and Roberta.
6. Teacher: For a description of Ms. Baird see transcript, October 3, 1983.
7. Basic Classroom Information:
   A. Subject Matter Focus: Social Studies
   B. Observation Time: 1:15- 2:00
   C. Instructional Level: Students are grouped hetergeneously for social studies. Both 7th and 8th graders were included in this class activity.
   D. Instructional Strategy: Whole class, lecture and discussion.
   E. Materials: Textbook, notebook, blackboard.
8. Narrative Description of the Physical Setting: There were some changes in the wall decorations since my last observation period. On the "Current Events" board on the back wall, there were 6 different news events brought in by the children. These events were: 1) the Day After, 2) Crying Palestinian children and PLO Chairman Arafat, 3) U.S. to list troops safe in Lebanon 4) U.S. soldiers inside Grenada, 5) Legal labyrinth of Death Row, and 5) Gordon Tech mourns for leader on and off the court. There also was a booklet of Quigley Seminary North (a Catholic boy's high school), a picture which says " All that grows on earth bless the Lord ( Daniel 3:76)," and a poster which says,"I pledge allegiance to the rainbow and to the happiness for which it stands, one circus under one ring master with balloons and nonsense for all.I pledge allegiance to the world to care for earth and sea and air, to cherish every living thing, for peace and justice everywhere. On the board were several student names with their grades on the assignment, Tall Tales. The names, grades, and comments were, Jose +5, better, Sheritta, (black girl) + 5, very good, Juan + 6, Super, and Ping + 5, good (but brief).

## Narrative

1:15 When T told children to go back to their seats, T already had a history book in her hand. T wrote on the board, Religion and Witchcraft. T to class: We can't do anything until you are quiet. Lucia! Roberta!

The class studied p. 25 of the history textbook, America, America. T wrote "apartheid" on the board. T to class: Give me a sentence.

Torry ( focal black boy) answers: The foreign governor.(Incorrect answer.) Kamphone answers: Something like tyranny. T to Kamphone: Okay, tyranny and ...? Gregory answers: Prejudice or racist government.

T to class: We learned yesterday what was happening in the southern colonies a couple of hundred years ago. It is still going on in South Africa today. In Chicago there is a South African Consulate. South Africa has the most brutal form of racial separation. A black child dies from hunger every twenty minutes. If any of the blacks try to do something about their lives in South Africa they are put in jail. That is if they try to do the same things Martin Luther King did here in the South, such as refusing to work, peacefully resisting, it doesn't work there.

Several students ask questions, Marco, Malinda ( black focal girl), and Stephanie ( black girl). Ronald ( black focal boy) asks: Who will give in first? Malinda asks, How many people are there?
T answers: I don't know the population. But about 80 percent are blacks. Anyone who is not white is considered black.

Ronald: Why don't they move from there. T answers: There is a heavy military patrol, that keeps them there. Keith ( black boy) asks a question. T answers: Blacks are watched very carefully. If three, four, or five of them have a meeting, the police break up the meeting.

Stephanie ( black girl ) asks: Isn't there something like South Africa going on in Central and South America? And in some places in Europe? T answers: I'm not sure of your question. Stephanie replies: Isn't there poverty in Europe, like in Germany?
T answers: In countries who are called third world countries such as nation states in Africa, South America and Asia, there is a lot of poverty. But there is poverty in Europe too. T: Torry and Terry, stop.(Discipline)

Sula ( black girl) Not all parts of those countries are poor.
T to Sula: Right, Even in South Africa, some blacks are not poor. But in South Africa there is more segregation between blacks and whites.

Malinda to T: Is there a war in Germany? T answers: The country is separated into two parts. Melinda: Aren't the people in the East, like in prison? T: Yes, they are not allowed in or out. Ghana, is a poor country. But black and white differences are not as great as they are in South Africa.

Lepe to T: We are not Communists?
T to Lepe: No, America is not a Communist country. Lepe to T: What does communism mean? T: Communism means that everybody shares everything equally, that is ideally. In a democracy, everybody has freedom and equality. But in reality it does not happen. So we are not really completely democratic. But then, they are not really

true communists either. But we call ourselves a democratic society. Why was Martin Luther King killed? Because he tried to bring real equality to blacks. Whether you like it or not in the United States we have a social structure like this. T draws a pyramid on the board. At the bottom are Asians, then female latinos, male latinos, black women, black men, white women, and white men at the top. Keith asks T: White children? T made a third level after white women for white youth.

Malinda asks T: Why is Michael Jackson so rich? He is black.
T answers: We have to count the majority of the people. The chances are if you are a white youth, you will have more of a chance in American society.

T asks class: Has anyone ever lived in the South? Bobby (nonblack) was the only one. He had lived in Georgia. Torry laughed at him. T told him to stop. T to class: In Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, there is still alot of prejudice. These are places which sometimes have separate facilities for blacks and white.

Stephanie: But nowadays it is not allowed.

T: That's because of Kennedy and King. Kennedy was a good friend of King. Kennedy made changes in the law. But many whites did not like the changes in the laws. And most policemen and lawyers are white. People who were enforcing the law did not agree with the law. So in the South, if a policeman sees white men beating up some black men, they may just walk away. ( Discussion got very heated.)

T returns to the pyramid, Jose ( in a small voice) says, I didn't know that latino's are below blacks. T to class: Asians were at the bottom but they are moving up here ( T drew an arrow going up to a point between black women and latino men.) T to class: Does this pyramid say that everybody has an equal chance? Children answer in unison, no. T to class: If it was equal, it would be a circle not a pyramid. T drew a big circle on the board. T continues: The highest court in the country, the Supreme Court has nine people, eight white men and one white woman. Reagan chose her because she was a conservative. She is from Texas. The South is naturally more conservative.

Malinda asks: Do the majority of them think like that?
T answers: No, They don't think like that. These are the facts. There are no women black mayors. There are too few black men and black women in political office. Reality shows you that. In Chicago, Washington won. But it does not happen all over the nation. In Chicago it was always white men, then white women.

Torry asks: Why does it happen? T answers: Because people were afraid that other people would get better than themselves. There are some good whites, but there are a lot of whites who are afraid that if blacks are equal, they will get better than them.

Juan asks: Who will win the presidential election.? T answers: I think that Reagan might win. You have to remember that the President is elected from all over the nation. People from the south are not so open- minded. There are a lot of people who would not vote for a black man for president, or for a woman.

Stegie (black girl) asks T about the status of people with mixed heritage. T answers: Anybody of different colors, mixed colors are lower in the pyramid. T to class: One more question. Malinda asks: How would you change it? T answers: If I could, I would make a circle.

Keith (black boy) says: Jessie Jackson was on the news last night. He says he knows he is not going to win but he still is going to run. T answers Keith: He wants to show that we can still try. If he runs, he will be the first black person who ever ran for the presidency. Next it may be a black woman. ( T seems to be interested in women's rights as well as minority rights. She seems to be quite progressive in her opinions of social justice.)

Malinda asks: Aren't there places where whites can not go? T answers: There are some wealthy black places where whites are not allowed. Some blacks are as prejudiced against whites, as whites are against blacks. Everyone has prejudices. In South Carolina, there is a place where people from Central America come to learn how to kill. They learn about weapons and then go back to their own country and kill their own people.

Hugh asks a question ( I can not hear.) T answers: Lots of people agree with Reagan because they believe that America has to be at the top of any other country. Okay we have to finish witchcraft.

T to class: We are talking about people who are prejudiced against the colonies, who are they? Class responds, European people. T wrote on the board, those who were thought to have supernatural powers were put to death. ( I realized I forgot to count students who were not on task or to record the time because the discussion was so interesting. All the children seemed to be very interested in the discussion. I don't think that there were any children who were not on task. I left the classroom at 2:00, while the class continued the discussion of witchcraft.)

In comparison to Roman, issues of social injustice are frequently discussed at St. August. Ms. Baird is probably the most politically outspoken of the St. August teachers. Transcripts reveal that issues such as racial prejudice, social injustice, differences in political ideologies were often discussed in her classroom. Ms. Baird uses the example of South Africa to discuss discrimination of blacks and other minority groups in American society. Given St. August's diverse population, dealing with these issues broadly allows a greater number of students the opportunity to internalize the relationship between societal problems and their own personal experiences.

When examining issues of identity holistically, Roman and St. August are very similar in their orientation to developing the child's sense of sexual and family identity. The two schools differ radically however, in their treatment of issues related to racial and ethnic differences. St. August uses every possible opportunity to highlight differences among the school population. Moreover, the school actively engages in building a sense of pride and respect for the children's racial and ethnic differences. Roman uses every opportunity it can to minimizes any racial and ethnic differences. Their careful efforts at avoiding issues of race and ethnicity have begun to present problems to the very groups they intended not to offend. Situations where one would reasonably expect attention to racial and ethnic pride go unnoticed. For example Martin Luther King's birthday was not celebrated in the middle and upper school.

Both schools help to develop a positive sexual identity in their students. Observers at both schools reported co-educational classes on sex education. Discussions were decidedly frank and and challenged adolescent myths concerning the relationship between biological characteristics and sexual fulfillment. In both schools, several of the boys and girls had friends of the opposite sex. Boy and girl verbal and physical interactions were much more prevalent at Roman. Parties for middle grade boys and girls with rock music and pizza were sponsored by Roman. Such parties were unlikely at St. August where boy girl interactions were treated with benign neglect. It may be that St. August deliberately choose to minimize sexual interactions as they were committed to influencing the children to attend Catholic high schools which were not co-educational.

Respect for parents was emphasized in both schools. At St. August, during Advent services the Pastor's comments focused more on how students should " appreciate and respect their mothers," than the religious significance of the holiday. The importance of family was also stressed at Roman. For example, the fifth graders had "grandparents day" where the children invited their grandparents to school. Grandparents participated in class activities and a school wide assembly. All four of Roger's ( one of the two black boys in fifth grade) grandparents attended this event. Inclusion of grandparents in Roman's school activities, symbolizes the extent to which the school seeks to establish its identity as a "family community."

Roman's lower school seems to be more conscious of the need to develope a positive racial and ethnic sense of self. In the lower school on Martin Luther King's birthday there was a special school assembly honoring King with song, dance, and poems. Sarah, one of the focal black girls did a ballet dance with another student. In addition to honoring King with a school wide assembly, the fifth grade teachers planned an entire unit on King's contribution to American society which included reports, stories, and selected readings.

As for issues of ethnicity, the values clarification teacher, discussed differences in the ways people celebrate the winter holiday season. In these sessions the students studied the winter holiday celebrations of Buddhists, Christians, Jews and Moslems. One of the black focal girls told the story of Channuka, she exclaimed "My mother is Jewish and my Dad is Christian. One year we celebrate Channuka the next year we celebrate Christmas." In middle school these types of conversations were obviously missing. Perhaps this is particularly troublesome because it would seem that pubescent adolescents would benefit from discussing racial and ethnic differences as they seek to establish their own identities.

Development of a black identity is treated very seriously at St. August. Although the school does not have any black teachers, students are frequently exposed to positive black role models. Martin Luther King's birthday was a major school wide event. A special prayer service was written in his honor. The seventh and eighth grade teacher wrote the following prayer about King, " God we pray that people everywhere will know about Martin Luther King's work." Malinda, a black focal girl interrupted her and said, "People already know about King's work we want him to be remembered." The teacher comment, "Yes, you are right, God we pray that people everywhere will remember Martin Luther King's work." King was frequently discussed in class discussions and his work and death was often equated with Catholic saints. In addition to King, during black history month, the school brought in a group of black entertainers, called "Cultural Messengers" who performed African, American, and West Indian songs and dances. In preparing the students for this event, the seventh and eighth grade teacher explains to her class, "You don't have to be black to learn about black culture."

Whereas St. August pays a great deal of attention to racial and ethnic differences, Catholic identity seems to be somewhat minimized. Although the students pray every day, and all holidays are celebrated, the focus is markedly on developing a cultural rather than religious identity in the students.

Roman has determined that the best way for the black students to feel more comfortable in the school is to increase the number of minority students. Consequently, they appointed a black teacher to try and recruit more black students. When the observer attended a meeting of the Minority Affairs Committee, (a school and parent group to address academic and social concerns of minority children) for minority parents, comments of black parents reflected Roman's lack of sensitivity to ethnic and racial differences. Many of the black parents expressed concern that their children were "losing their sense of blackness." Furthermore, activities in the school for black students turned out to be "problematic." For example during black history month, instead of having a black speaker, the school invited a Jewish man to discuss the hardships of living in a ghetto in Eastern Europe. This situation exaccerbated sensitivities among black and Christian parents who perceived that the population of the school was disproportionately Jewish.

Martin Luther King's birthday was not celebrated in the middle or upper school. According to one teacher the celebration was cancelled because "the speeches planned had nothing to do with King. Furthermore, there were no black kids in it. How can you have a Martin Luther King assembly without black kids? " Part of the problem with the King celebration, from the perspective of one teacher was that the black kids "don't want to participate. They don't want to call attention to themselves. ...The majority of the older kids don't think of themselves as black and this is no big deal. They wouldn't even sing the planned song, 'Lift Every Voice and Sing.'"

Lack of black participation in the King celebration, seems to mirror the school's insensitivity to developing a sense of racial and ethnic pride in the students. Another example of the school's lack of attention to issues of black identity occurred at the student Presidential election, where Jesse Jackson was played by a nonblack, although there were black students who could have participated. Moreover, no other candidate was played by a black. Thus a national event of major significance to black people was not noticed. Yet, at St. August, Jackson's bid for the presidency is recognized and discussed ( see transcript, December 7, 1984). It would seem that school and peer pressure are signaling to black students that to become part of the Roman culture one must lose their sense of racial identity.

Roman has committed itself to trying to increase the minority representation in its student body, so that it more accurately reflects the nation and city of Chicago. The difficulty with their efforts it would appear, is that attracting any black or other ethnic or racial group to a school where they learn to feel uncomfortable with who they are, is likely to be unsuccessful. While the message of the school may be that there are no differences among groups, the transcripts indicate that at least for some black children this may not be the reality they are experiencing. Seating at lunch, comments made to certain black children and the acceptance of lighter skinned blacks among the dominant peer group indicate racial separation of certain black children. For some black children the message concerning race and ethnicity at Roman is contradictory and negative to their sense of self esteem. The school does not recognize differences among groups, yet the black child's social reality particularly if one is very dark and female, is that you probably will not be accepted by your peer group. If Roman wants to increase the number of minority students perhaps the best way would be to provide a positive social experience for the black children in the school.

## Conclusion

Both schools are able to develop successful school achievers because of the ways they organize and manage their learning environments. Although the school cultures are distinctively different, both schools expect that all of their black and non black students will met their academic standards. Student expectations are accompanied with activities that facilitate and reinforce school goals.

At both schools, black and non black students are given equal opportunities to participate in school activities. Teachers are as likely to select black as non black students for various functions, such as messenger, class librarian, or actor or actress in a school play. Furthermore, praise and reprimands are equally distributed to black and non black students. Differences between the two schools with respect to participation and involvement reflect the school's philosophy. At St. August, the teachers and administrators work to create a community which stresses appreciation and respect for ethnic and racial differences. Students are taught social responsibility for each other and their community. At Roman, the cultural tradition is high scholastic performance. The school does not seek to create a diverse cultural community rather it stresses individual achievement. Issues of social responsibility are discussed very abstractly, and rarely applied to classroom situations.

Both schools have highly structured classroom environments, conduct frequent evaluations of black and non black academic progress, and provide positive feedback to all students on their performance. Basic differences between the two schools center on their instructional styles and resources. At Roman teachers consistently construct lessons and activities where students are encouraged to ask questions, create alternative solutions to problems, and relate classroom experiences to other situations. Small classes, numerous learning materials, and support staff, guidance counselor, learning disabilities teacher, and classroom aides help to facilitate learning goals. At St. August, the teachers tend to assign learning activities where students are expected to complete highly structured tasks, memorize factual information, and find the "right" answer to specific problems. The average class size is thirty- three students, textbooks and other materials are frequently shared and the support staff is entirely volunteer.

As for issues of identity, Roman and St. August both positively work to develop the child's sexual identity, although Roman is clearly more supportive of fostering social interactions between boys and girls. Both schools stress the importance of family and teach respect for parents and other extended family members. However the schools are very different in their treatment of issues related to ethnic and racial differences. St. August uses every possible opportunity to highlight differences among groups whereas Roman tries to minimize ethnic or racial differences among the students. While the message of the school may be that there are no differences among groups, it appears that at least for some black children this is not the reality that they are experiencing in their peer groups.

Although the transcripts reveal that each school has its own set of problems, it is also clear that these two schools are consciously working to develop successful school achievers. Each school has its' own distinctive culture which contributes to a black child's academic achievement, feelings of inclusion and identity. These school observations permitted us to move beyond conventional ideas about what makes an effective school. These schools succeed as the result of a variety of factors which are not easily visible because they are embedded in the school's culture.

# Chapter 13

## Executive Summary: Newcomers - Blacks in Private Schools

### Introduction

This research is the first intensive study of black school-aged children in ecologically diverse school settings. It is one of only a few detailed studies of any aspect of private schooling. Two schools are private elite (Oak Lawn, Roman); one is an independent alternative school (Monroe); and one is Roman Catholic (St August). All are located in Chicago, Illinois. Furthermore, the research is one of only a handful of studies that systematically and simultaneously examine children, their parents and the schools they attend, whether private or public. Both quantitative and qualitative data are use in this ethnographic study to portray the meaning and significance of schooling to these children and their parents. Finally, the study also joins those precious few investigations which portray black children in adaptive, successful school roles.

One purpose of this concluding chapter is to briefly summarize the principal findings of the study. A second purpose is to interpret these findings given the overall conceptual framework, guiding hypotheses, and assumptions of the study. A third, and final, purpose is to draw educational policy implications. Three interdependent audiences are envisioned as particularly policy-relevant: (1) the heterogeneous private school community, (2) black families with school-aged children, and (3) scholars, researchers, and practitioners especially concerned with the interrelationships between educational environments and children's learning and development.

## Summary of Findings

Detailed findings of this study are presented in chapters 7-12. Two research questions guided the study: first, why are increasing numbers of black parents enrolling their children in private schools, and second, what are the experiences of the children in these schools? The first question arose from an analysis of recent unprecedented educational trends in black American urban communities. The second question addressed previously unexplored relationships between the children, their parents, and the school cultures in which the families had chosen to participate. Before interpreting the findings, a brief synopsis is presented in view of these questions.

### Why do black parents send their children to private schools?

The study assumed that parents have intuitive educational goals that could be inductively derived from their responses to appropriately directed interview questions. It also assumed that because these black parents were charting new educational directions within the black community in sending their children to desegregated urban, private schools, they would be particularly aware of their educational aims for their children. Therefore, the question was primarily conceived as a need for analysis of the aims of education as perceived by both black and nonblack parents.

Six different parental patterns were identified, each one of which represents a distinctly different view that the black parents hold about the aims of education for their children. The differing patterns are related to the particular private school attended, but within each school there is also diversity of perspectives.

The patterns are based upon parental responses to the family goals section of the parent interview. Open-ended interviews with 74 middle class black parents and 57 middle class nonblack parents, most of whom have children in grades 5-8, focused upon the parents' own school experiences (mother and father), their aspirations for their child, their analysis of education today, and their concrete descriptions of how they chose their child's school. Nonblack parents were deliberately chosen non-randomly; they are the parents of children identified by teachers as friendly to the black children. If the two parents groups were initially as similar as possible, differences obtained between them would enrich and amplify an understanding of the educational goals of black parents. The majority of nonblack parents in this sample are white. However, about 10% are Asian or Hispanic.

Goals differ by school and race, but not by child grade level. Each of the six inductively-derived response patterns are reflective of parents' educational aims. Four criteria distinguish the response patterns: (1) whether the parents perceived the home or the school as having primary authority for the child's education; (2) the degree of emphasis on the centrality of the child's feelings in the educational process; (3) the degree of emphasis on the social or reputational standing of the school; and (4) the amount of emphasis on linkages between present curriculum and future child learning and development outcomes. The six goal types are: (1) Authoritative, (2) Deliberate, (3) Humanistic, (4) Moral, (5) Practical, and (6) Traditional.

Briefly, the most salient characteristics of these patterns are as follows:

1. Authoritative: There are six key elements of this response pattern, the first of which is that these parents reached the decision to send their child to a school after a very systematic investigation of alternative options, primarily because they see themselves as being very responsible for the quality of education their child receives inside and outside of school.
2. Deliberate: There are five key elements in this response pattern, the first of which is that these parents believe good teachers are absolutely essential for children to learn. Because the parents firmly believe that children cannot learn without good teachers, the hallmark of an excellent school is excellent teaching. In short, parents are not educators, teachers are.
3. Humanistic: There are six key elements of this response pattern, the first of which is that these parents want their children to learn in an environment that is

pleasant, joyful, and relatively non-competitive. They judge the goodness of a school according to whether children are both academically productive and happy within it, and they feel very competent at making such judgments. Authority for the child's education lies with the family.

4. Moral: There are two key elements of this response pattern. First, these parents firmly believe that a quality education addresses the spiritual side of a child's development, equally as well as the basics and/or enriched curriculum. Therefore, a key focus of the child's education is the development of its moral and social character; and second, the parents prefer a disciplined, ordered learning environment in which children learn to behave in accordance with respected adults' standards and expectations.

5. Practical: There are five key elements of this response pattern, the first and second of which are that first, these parents expect teachers to be nurturing, and thus demonstrate concern for the academic and social-emotional needs of the child; and second, these parents are especially sensitive to any signs of rejection or indifference on the part of school faculty or staff toward themselves or their children; such behavior is intolerable. However, authority for the child's education lies with the school.

6. Traditional: There are five key elements of this response pattern, the first of which is that these parents believe firmly in the importance of a high quality college preparatory learning environment, beginning as early as elementary school, if not before. Secondly, the parents believe that the best education is in private schooling because such schools provide the necessary exposure to an enriched curriculum. Family members often had a prior history of private school attendance, and the options considered for the child were usually limited to the pool of available private schools.

The distribution of the response patterns was: (1) Authoritative - 19; (2) Deliberate - 33; (3) Humanistic - 34; (4) Moral - 10; (5) Practical - 13; and (6) Traditional - 22. There are significant differences between four schools in the predominant parental response pattern. However, all but one response pattern (Practical) appear in more than one school. Black parents are significantly more often classified as either Deliberate or Authoritative than nonblack parents. Nonblacks parents are more often classified as either Humanistic or Traditional. At Oak Lawn, the first and second modal response patterns of parents are Deliberate and Humanistic; at Roman they are first, Traditional, and second Deliberate or Humanistic; at St August they are Practical and Moral; and at Monroe they are Humanistic and Authoritative.

Although there were differences among the response patterns, most parents shared common views on certain educational issues. For example, nearly all parents have high educational aspirations for their children; they value preschool education; they want schools to provide a strong background in the fundamentals of reading, writing, and mathematical computation; and they are not opposed to the idea of public education. Both groups of parents were generally satisfied with the quality of education they received. However, they stress that today the available quality of public education in their neighborhoods and communities is inferior.

Although both parent groups are equally likely to indicate that the value of a desegregated education is the opportunity for children to learn interracial tolerance, more black parents also emphasize the importance such an educational context has for the child's opportunity to learn about other cultures. Therefore, more black than nonblack parents were likely to link educational quality with social diversity in schools. Interestingly, significantly more black than nonblack parents had attended public elementary schools and had other-race teachers.

These findings clearly demonstrate that parents, including black parents, have educational aims that can be differentiated. Often intuitive, these educational ideologies guide parental selection of specific private schools, and provide a basis for parental appraisal of the educational experiences of their children.

What are the schooling experiences of the black children?

Children were observed in schools for a total of 135 observational half-days over the 83-84 academic year. Observations were conducted not only in classrooms, lunchrooms, gym, swimming, field trips, assemblies, but also at school events, parent meetings, and on graduation day. Informal conversations were held with children whenever possible. Reading and mathematics achievements scores, as well as self concept data, were obtained for fifth to eighth graders. Prior to conducting these observations, an attempt was made to learn the parent and faculty perceptions of each school's history, educational goals, and means of achieving those goals. This information, as well as available archival and other public documents assisted in characterizing the cultural-ecological context of each institution. Across the four schools the four top administrators, 26 teachers, and nine (designated by administrators) parent leaders were interviewed.

The findings regarding the children's lives in the schools suggest these black children are currently receiving some of the best academic education available in the nation. Evidence to support this assertion follows, first with respect to school life, then with respect to children's self concepts and academic achievements.

1. First, administrators and teachers hold high academic standards for all students and assumes major

responsibility for ensuring that students meet these expectations;

2. Second, the teachers are dedicated to their subject-matter and are respected by administrators and pupils;
3. Third, children have homework which is graded and monitored; emphasis is on the acquisition of skills and the development of critical thinking skills;
4. Fourth, full, descriptive accounts of the child's academic progress are routinely reported to each family;
5. Fifth, special classes and one-on-one tutoring sessions are available to children who need additional academic help;
6. Six, in three of the four schools computer instruction is an integral part of the school curriculum;
7. Seven, all schools emphasize the humanities (arts, music, drama) as a vital and necessary component of the school curriculum;
8. Eight, there are many opportunities for unique academically-related field trips; children participate in fund-raising to support these activities;
9. Nine, physical facilities for gym, recreation, and assemblies are available;
10. Ten, each school gives explicit attention to parental involvement in school life.
11. Eleven, there are few discipline problems; time in the classroom is devoted to teaching the subject matter and

the low (usually 1/17) teacher-pupil ratio gives all children ample opportunity to participate;

Fifth to eighth grade children were administered the Harter self concept measures of Perceived Competence. The instrument provides for assessment of cognitive and social competence, general self worth and evaluated physical appearance, as well as perceived athletic competence and evaluated behavioral conduct. The children's perceived competencies in all areas are comparable to national norms. However, significant school differences were obtained in students' perceptions of athletic competence, differences favoring the two private elite schools in the study, and significant racial differences, favoring black students, were obtained on perceived social competence and physical appearance.

Fifth to eighth grade children's achievements on standard tests are, expectably, at grade level or above. Reading comprehension is slightly below grade level at one of the three schools (Catholic), but mathematics computation is at grade level or above at all schools. However, there are significant school differences in both reading comprehension and mathematics computation, differences favoring the private elite schools. Further, significant racial differences in reading comprehension, favoring nonblacks, were also obtained.

All schools successfully meet minimal criteria for educational effectiveness; within these contexts, the participating black children do also. However, other findings with respect to black children's social and identity development, as black persons, are less conclusive. For example, in three of the four schools the curriculum gives little to no attention to black and/or poor people in this nation. The Catholic school is the one exception. Interviews with teachers in the other schools, especially some black and sensitive "liberal" teachers, reveal a concern that these children cannot identify with black persons who are not as privileged as themselves. Generally, the three schools deemphasize, as a matter of administrative policy, attention to racial and cultural differences.

The pattern of the children's peer relations in informal settings range from those black children who self-consciously have only nonblack friends, to those black children who appear to regularly choose to sit together, and exclude nonblack contacts. Few black children, when asked to describe how someone would look and act if they were to disappear and this person were to take their place, mentioned any racial features (e.g. skin color, hair texture). Even fewer described themselves directly as a black person.

These results demonstrate that black children are having a successful academic experience in the four private schools. The four schools were chosen initially because they had a reputation for academic excellence, but this reputation need not have extended to the black students. Other researchers have documented the differential academic and social expectations sometimes held for black youth in desegregated schools (e.g., Rist, 1978; Schofield, 1982). However, in the majority of these exceptionally fine schools, some of the special needs of black students, as black persons, were being ignored.

Importantly, each school accomplished its educational mission in accordance with its own unique heritage and identity. Interviews with administrators, faculty, and parent leaders at one private elite school (Oak Lawn) stressed a traditional college preparatory curriculum, and a high emphasis on social character and adjustment. Using the classification schema developed for parents in this study, the school is both Traditional and Moral. In contrast, the other private elite school (Roman) is both Traditional and Humanistic in orientation. The Catholic school (St August) shows elements of both Humanistic and Moral response patterns; and the Alternative-Independent school (Monroe) is essentially Humanistic in its highly student-centered approach to learning and development. There are apparently several socialization paths to educational excellence (four were identified in this study), and black children and their families appear flexible and adaptive enough to utilize each of them.

## Analysis and Interpretation

Bronfenbrenner (1979) has argued that an ecological perspective on human development involves simultaneous consideration of the exo-, macro-, meso-, and microsystemic levels of analysis. Importantly, when analyzing and interpreting childhood behavior and development, many researchers currently focus solely upon a microsystemic level of analysis. This single focus approach often results in little attention to how research participants define their immediate situations, or to how these emergent definitions refract upon a broader sociocultural context. Further, it implies that generalizations about how persons behave tend not to arise from study of their experiences in settings which are natural and familiar to them. Such generalizations, therefore, frequently have limited relevance for social policies and programs.

In this study, a naturally-occurring social phenomenon was identified and investigated from the perspectives of involved participants. During the study, several levels of analysis were found important to understanding the meaning and significance of private schooling to black children and their parents.

### Exosystemic issues: School desegregation

First, at the exosystemic level, each school had developed deliberate admissions policies and practices in regard to black students. At the 110-year-old Oak Lawn school, for example, the current headmaster self-consciously initiated an active desegregation effort. He reports initial concern that Oak Lawn was being characterized as less progressive in its desegregation efforts in comparison with other neighboring private elite schools. At St August, changes in neighborhood populations resulted in a shift in the racial and ethnic group backgrounds of potential pupils, a shift neglected in previous years but now embraced by the present directors of the school. In contrast, Roman's initial desegregation efforts in the sixties may have been influenced by the "zeitgeist" of the times, given that it has traditionally made efforts to remain "avant garde." Today, however, the school is uncomfortable with its relatively low (percentage-wise) minority enrollment. The headmaster believes all of Roman's children could benefit from the stability offered by the children of many middle and upper-middle income black families. Finally, Monroe was founded as an alternative preschool. Its financial solvency was intimately tied to the receipt of funds from Project Head Start through the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). Unlike the other schools, black children have been a part of Monroe since its founding in the sixties. The inclusion of black pupils was always explicitly desired by the school's parent leaders and administrators, who wished to create an educational environment representative of all social classes and races.

In each instance, black students' participation in these desegregated urban private schools is a product of social forces extrinsic to the schools themselves. These forces were refracted and incorporated into administrative policy according to each school's uniquely perceived identity and mission.

It is very important that, in being desegregated, these four schools are "mavericks" within the private school community, both in Chicago, and nationwide. Indeed, it has been argued (Schneider & Slaughter, 1984) that many black parents might well have preferred to seek desegregated private schooling prior to the past 10-15 years, but that educational policies and practices in these schools precluded this option. What could at first appear to be a new trend for black Americans may, in fact, be better characterized as a new social opportunity.

Macrosocietal issues: Social and academic equity between races.

During the study it was also learned that certain macrosocietal concepts and issues are very important to how participants define the social realities of the schools. Careful analyses of the patterns of social mobility and perceptions of desegregation/integration of black and nonblack parents, for example, reveal several important points about social equity within the schools (Slaughter, Johnson, & Schneider, 1985).

Social equity between black and nonblack families and children.

Both parent groups tend to live in racially homogeneous neighborhoods, though the schools themselves are located in desegregated census tracts. Black children, more often than other children however, are more likely to enter racially desegregated neighborhoods to attend the schools their families have chosen for them. Nonblack children at Oak Lawn, and black children at Oak Lawn, Roman, and Monroe, in particular, are likely to have the experience of having "friends at home" and "friends at school," the latter of whom may be of a different race than the former. Further, both black and nonblack parents appear to value this aspect of their children's daily lives. Black and nonblack parents felt that the experience of a desegregated education enabled the children to learn tolerance for persons different from themselves. In addition, black parents frequently stressed that children were learning to cope with a different culture.

Black parents look to the children's schooling experiences to provide significant inputs into their social development that homes and neighborhoods do not, or frequently cannot, provide. The parents appear to have anticipated that what this generation of children will need for sustained social mobility and economic opportunity are both an excellent basic education and the chance to learn as much about coping within a dominant American culture as early as possible in their development. Many parents do not themselves presently live a socially integrated life style, but they do expect and hope that their children could, if they so chose. At the least, the children will be prepared to successfully compete at a good college, and in broader society. However, not all black parents are so futuristically oriented; many simply want their child to participate positively with others in a desegregated school setting. In both instances, quality education is perceived as the necessary foundation for social and economic equity in the future.

However, the black parents are pragmatic in their emphasis on school socialization for socially and economically equitable adult roles. Most parents appear not to expect the schools to extend their focus to the black community as a whole, a community still largely poor and socially disenfrancised. Neither parents nor school faculty expect the schools to be a significant and important source for learning about persons less privileged generally, or the black community in particular. Both black parents and faculty hold the family accountable for this information. Further, only two of the four schools (Oak Lawn, St August) report explicit daily practices designed to foster interracial tolerance. Oak Lawn, for example, has assigned lunchroom seating, partly to insure that children of differing backgrounds share informal time together during each school day. In contrast, St August incorporates an ideology of "one human family" into its philosophical underpinnings. Therefore, this perspective is pervasive throughout school life as experienced by the children.

Both Monroe and Roman appear to rely on the spontaneous tendencies of the children to form interracial friendships. At Monroe, where 50% of the small student population is black, and a high percentage of black families live in the school's community area, this strategy is more successful. However, at

Roman, where only 6% of the much larger student population is black, and the majority of the black students live outside the school's community area, this strategy is not successful. There are more obvious indications of self-imposed segregation during informal student activities at Roman school. These tendencies, at any of the schools, should not be surprising because, in fact, they reflect how the parents live. Children are especially innovative when they, at these ages, can completely create and generate new role behaviors which are not characteristic of the adults who care for them, whether parents or teachers (Nonetheless, many instances of precisely such behavior were observed in the schools. Other data obtained from parents, but not discussed in this report, indicate that indeed there is evidence of bidirectional socialization (i.e., child to parent, parent to child) about cross-race, cross-class relationships)).

Additonal peer status data support the on-site observations. Although black students in the four schools are equally as likely to be chosen as their nonblack peers as someone others "like to study with," "be with," or perceive they "can be influenced by," the black children achieve this form of social equity in the schools through the support of same-race nominators. These behavioral data contradict the expressed racial value orientations of most faculty at all four schools, namely that they prefer to be essentially "color-blind" (Slaughter, Schneider, Lee, & Lindsey, 1984).

Academic equity between black and nonblack children.

What the schools do achieve is a measure of academic equity. Admitted students appear to continue to learn at a pace consistent with their family backgrounds and their developmental status at entry. Importantly, there are no significant racial differences between black and nonblack students at any school in mathematics performance (computation), and actual performance levels for both groups at all schools are at or above grade level. Two findings, however, point to the continuing influence of socioeconomic status differences, even within middle income families.

First, black students have significantly lower reading comprehension scores in comparison with nonblack students. Nonetheless, the reading scores of black students in three of the four schools (Oak Lawn, Monroe, Roman) are, on average, at or above grade level. Second, the school serving children from families with significantly lower annual incomes (St August) also had the lowest average reading achievement scores. Interviews with faculty reveal St August school has many immigrant children of non-English-speaking parents.

The relationship between income rank and reading achievement rank was also examined. Among blacks, the correlation between average reported family income within each school and reading achievement rank is perfect, $r= 1.00$. The higher the annual black family income rank across the four schools, the higher the average reading achievement rank. The finding does not hold for nonblack parents whose reported yearly family income, in many instances, is less likely to reflect their capital assets.

These data suggest that socioeconomic class is routinely implicated in some evaluations of academic achievement in the primary and elementary school years, even when minimal performance standards are clearly met. In American society, educational equity between races and ethnic groups in some curriculum areas may well be unattainable; what is clearly attainable is that the children of all racial and ethnic groups, on the average, can achieve grade-level expectations. This study indicates that such achievement is possible within diverse school cultures.

Grade level standards are less likely to be attained in schools whose "cultures" are, for any of a variety of reasons, less coherent and mutually supported by children, families, and school faculty (Ogbu, 1974; Comer, 1980; Sarason, 1971, 1983). Elementary school cultures without such characteristics, it is hypothesized, cannot create students who will identify themselves as successful school achievers. Once the basis for such an identity formation is established, most children will work persistently to reinforce and affirm their own images of themselves.

Mesosystemic issues: Perceptions of parents, administrators and faculty; Parental participation in school life.

Parental perspectives on private schooling.

Nearly all the black parents reported that they were prepared to make considerable financial and personal sacrifices for the children's attendance at these private schools. In fact, they do make these sacrifices, and in many instances their children are aware of their actions. For example, black children in these schools are no more likely to receive scholarship aid than other children even though, as noted earlier, the average annual family income of the black parents is significantly lower than that of nonblack parents. No school has scholarship funds especially designated for blacks.

However, black parents also reported that they were not opposed to public education and, in fact, were reasonably satisfied with the public education they received as children. Private schooling had come to symbolize for the black parents the best available option for their own children. The parents equated educational quality with private schooling as a pragmatic reality, not a logical necessity. Since black, in comparison with nonblack, parents were more likely to be employed in education-related industries, and since this factor alone may have affected the families' available income, their perceptions are very important. Their choice of private schooling appears to be less of a rejection of public schooling, and more of an evolution of a new strategy for insuring future levels of sustained and/or upward mobility for the family. In short, if there are any special occupational or career opportunities for black Americans in the future, these parents intend for their children to have the necessary educational training, networking contacts, and social skills to profit by them. Such ambitions for the children are hardly surprising when it is considered that this generation of parents, as the immediately post-civil rights movement generation, found itself exposed to entirely unpredicted opportunities and options by comparison to other generations of black Americans (Franklin, 1978).

Although many nonblack parents share similar views, the interview data suggest that for them private schooling per se is more likely to be perceived either as part of a family life style passed from one generation to another, or as an opportunity for their children to attend a respected, socially prestigious school, or as a vehicle for pleasant social participation with like-minded persons and families with similar-aged children, or even as an opportunity to create the kind of total educational experience they believe best for their children.

### Faculty perceptions of black children and families.

During the study top administrators, faculty in administrative positions, and other faculty and parent leaders were interviewed. School administrators and faculty also held positions about racial equity. These positions influenced how they perceived both the black community and the black children and families in their schools. Specific questions were asked about the role of the home environment in the child's academic life. Remarkable agreements were obtained between black parents and the school administrators and faculty at the four schools on the role of the home environment and the child's academic performance. Although each school has its own unique expectations for parental involvement, the role of the home environment begins to be articulated at the admissions process. Once a child is admitted, individual teachers at all schools are free to contact students' families as they choose. These contacts often serve to reinforce both parental and school expectations.

Administrators and faculty at the four schools described their families differently. Oak Lawn emphasized that black and other families have more commonalities than differences because they share a middle to upper-middle class professional or business-oriented life style. Stressing commonalities is viewed as an important means of unifying the ethnically and racially diverse school community. Roman families were portrayed as wealthy, generally of a higher social standing than teachers, and highly skeptical of the school's role in any but the educational aspects of their children's lives. However, many families welcome advice and counsel about parenting and childrearing. The top administrator perceived black families as more conservative and traditional. From the headmaster's perspective, the black students lend a stabilizing influence to the school.

St August families are viewed as hard-working, many parents of whom are foreign-born, and who highly value education. School faculty believe families often need special attention and nurturing because of social problems in the community, and sometimes, at home. St August cherishes the ethnic and racial diversity of its families. It develops programs and activities with the children to affirm their knowledge and understanding of their families' cultural differences. Black families are perceived as more socially integrated into the American way of life, and therefore, more involved with their children's education than other nonblack families.

Monroe families are perceived as highly committed to racial integration and social diversity in the school. This intellectual and social commitment is based upon how families perceived American society ought to be, specifically, what is good for all children, whether white or black. Black families are perceived to be less secure in their middle class status, more vested in tangible signs of educational progress, and less focused on the educational process, than other families.

Administrators and faculty at all schools emphasized the exceedingly high, and rising, expectations of families for children's academic achievements. In other data obtained from parents regarding their educational aspirations, expectations, and minimal standards for educational attainment, these views were corroborated. Oak Lawn and Monroe pointed to the high ambitions of black parents, ambitions sometimes leading to unrealistic expectations for grade level placement and for classroom work by fathers and mothers (Oak Lawn), or an overemphasis on skill acquisition (Monroe).

Administrators and faculty at all schools also stressed the importance of the home environment to the child's education. Oak Lawn expects the family's role to be largely supportive. The home should be a place where children can regularly study when they must, and a source of enrichment and relaxation relative to educationally-related extracurricular and social activities. Roman expects the home's role to be both supportive and facilitative. Only a well-rounded, emotionally-stable child is an effective academic competitor. The rigor of academic pressures at school can be disasterous for children experiencing highly unstable, nonsupportive home situations. St August expects the family to convey to the child a high value for education and learning. Children may even teach parents about what they have learned in school; the school expects parents to be supportive, and to respect the child's efforts at teaching and learning. Monroe expects the home to be supportive of children's natural curiosities and motivations for learning. Children need to become disciplined through learning how to make wise choices about matters important to them; parents help by being patient, not imposing their values, and providing children opportunities to make real choices in their lives at home. All schools expect parents to provide homework time, to help with homework on occasion, and to monitor the influence of television. All schools expect parental involvement in designated school activities. No differential expectations were reported for black or nonblack families. However, all schools report that black children require some special considerations from their families.

Black families have the primary, if not sole, responsibility for teaching their children racial pride, and informing them about their heritage and background in American culture. St August and Monroe, in particular, perceive themselves as providing supplementary support in these efforts, but administrators and faculty at all schools typically place the primary responsibility with family. In fact, all schools emphasize the importance of being "color-blind" with regard to daily interactions with black and other children.

The black community at large is perceived somewhat negatively from the perspective of the majority of schools. Oak Lawn emphasized that its black students could have problems with the black community as a result of being "outsiders" in their own neighborhoods. Other youth may envy them for having the opportunity to attend Oak Lawn, given its excellent reputation in the Chicago community. Another problem which limits neighborhood friendships, and which is shared with nonblack students, is the high average distance between home and school. At Oak Lawn, the distance can be considerable, and therefore, travel time restricts time for making and sustaining friendships. Conversely, distance also increases the likelihood that the social life of the families will be independent of the school community, thus impinging upon the latter's closeness and unity. Some faculty expressed concern that black children acquire undesirable behavioral traits from out-of-school contacts with peers. Oak Lawn stressed a preference for having no dual standards, for having the same academic and social expectations for black and other students.

Roman stressed that within the school black children's problems were often social, rather than academic, given that the school services children from predominately white (WASP) upper-middle class families. The administrator also expressed a concern that graduating black youth do not take effective advantage of the school's academic reputation when considering college; frequently, they "aim low" in their college choices. Both Roman and Oak Lawn perceive themselves as elite, college preparatory institutions, and therefore, they are highly protective of students' college aspirations and attainments. The concerns at Roman, however, also suggest that generally the black community is perceived as socially (though not morally) inferior to the communities of other school families. However, in classrooms children are taught without regard to social background. Roman administrators explictly emphasized that once admitted, black students are held to the same academic expectations and standards as other students. Furthermore, administrators and faculty at Roman acknowledge the presence of children from several socially prominent black families.

St August and Monroe schools perceive the black community somewhat differently. St August emphasized the potential strengths children can develop from learning how to effectively cope with a diverse urban community. Children who learn to cope successfully with the rigors of urban life, acquire a solid educational foundation, and develop racial (or ethnic) pride about themselves and their heritage as a result of the cooperative efforts of home and school, "can't lose" in the future. Monroe reaffirmed its high valuation of socioeconomic diversity in the school, a diversity not always attainable given limitations on scholarship aid. Some faculty and parent leaders felt black children at Monroe could profit from greater exposure to and awareness of, the life experiences of other blacks and nonblacks less privileged than themselves. A faculty member expressed the view that it was important for nonblack children to see and experience blacks in authoritative roles. Faculty at all schools stressed that their black children would, and do, achieve in life, particularly if they do not become unduly defensive about being black in America.

In summary, school administrators and faculty at best regard the black community ambivalently, possibly partly because they are highly protective of all their children and families and do not wish to see any harmed by non-school liaisons; partly because families' strong allegiences to other than the school community at this time could threaten the educational process; and partly because this is the message they receive from black parents of enrolled children who decidedly want something "better" for their children than is currently available in their neighborhoods and community.

Parental participation in the schools

Each school structures parental participation differently. Common features include parental clubs, and involvement at the level of the Board of Trustees or Advisory Councils. Parent-teacher conferences about the academic progress of students are routively scheduled throughout the academic year. Monroe perceives itself as parent-owned and operated. Roman has many structural arrangements for involving parents, and includes among them parent meetings with administrators focused on the needs of its developing students. At Roman, one series of meetings focused on increasing the numbers of minority students in the school. Unlike Monroe and Roman, Oak Lawn restricts parental classroom observations (due to the small, intimate spacing of rooms), but encourages parents to participate in annually scheduled events, as well as to give volunteer time to campus facilities. It stresses links to the surrounding neighborhood through a co-sponsored community arts center. St August emphasizes building up parental involvement, knowing all parents on a first-name basis as early in the year as possible. Many contacts with parents are sustained by phone, but teachers also visit homes.

In other analyses (Schneider & Slaughter, 1985) school and racial differences in parental invovlement were obtained.

School differences are consistent with the educational philosophies, parent communities, and social organization of each school. Parents at Monroe and Roman, respectively, demonstrate the highest average level of awareness of opportunities to participate, as well as actual participation, in school activities, while Oak Lawn and St August demonstrate lower levels. However, as far as sense of belonging to the school community, the schools rank Monroe first, followed by St August, Oak Lawn, and Roman. Black parents, in comparison with nonblacks, were significantly less likely to be intensely active in the school communities, and more likely to recommend changes to enhance the school's sense of community. The types of changes black parents suggested to interviewers included more parent involvement in school activities, more minority student recruitment, and more ways to improve race relations among parents.

Certain aspects of parental involvement in schools seem particularly salient to black children's peer status in the schools (Slaughter, Schneider, Gold, & Johnson, 1985). Among black children, parents' awareness, and presumably use, of multiple sources of feedback about their children's academic progress is a good indicator of their child's popularity among same-race and cross-race peers.

These findings indicate that, for a variety of reasons, black parents are sensitive to perceptions held about them by administrators and faculty, but particularly, by nonblack parents. They understand the relative "newness" of the private schooling experience for their families and children. Possibly, some reject elitist distinctions drawn between their families and the black community as a whole. Many more simply prefer that their communities not be the basis of subtle, invidious discriminations practiced among parents within the schools. These distinctions, it should be added, are ones over which administrators and faculty have considerably less direct control. Black parents appear to hope, at least at some schools, for more effective black parental involvement and increased numbers of black students and families to offset feelings of detachment and marginality. Parental involvement in American schools is not an unmixed blessing for black families in desegregated schools where they may occupy both a lower socioeconomic status and the status of being the most visible newcomers to a school's community, especially if these are combined with a school's lack of explicit commitment to racial integration.

At Monroe, high complementary educational goals help to overcome barriers to relationships between black and nonblack families (Slaughter & Schneider, 1985). At St August, the nurturant, humanistic stance of administration and faculty toward all parents, irrespective of race, ethnicity, or religious affiliation, is helpful. At Oak Lawn, respect for the authority and wisdom of administrators and faculty in educational decision-making helps to overcome black-nonblack racial barriers between families. And at Roman, progressive, open acknowledgement of its struggles in this area continually serve to rekindle trust and commitment to a school undergoing slow, but definite, positive changes in racial attitudes and relations.

In summary, macrosystemic issues indigenous to American culture influenced observed mesosystemic relations, in particular relations between black parents and others in the private schools in this study. Given these observations and interpretations of mesosystemic relations between the black families and these private schools, it is appropriate to consider how each school, at the microsystemic level, effectively supports the identity of a "successful school achiever," in its black students.

Microsystemic issues: The black students, their teachers and peers.

This research report could not describe the tremendous variety of individual experiences of black children in the four study schools. Of necessity, it focused on some central themes and issues affecting all black children. It is possible to make a few observations generally, and about each school in particular. More detailed accounts will be offered in future reports and writings.

In three of the four schools, the black children were not exposed to black history and culture, nor were the other students who could also benefit from knowledge and understanding of this extremely rich aspect of American history and culture. These schools may not be positively contributing to black children's identity development as black persons in America, nor to other children's understanding of the cultural pluralistic foundations of this society. Middle income black parents motivated by an intense desire that their children access the best available academic education, chose these schools because of the strong emphasis on educational achievement, and typically gave the four schools responsibility for defining what "best" shall be. Therefore, the daily experiences of the children were largely governed by the schools' educational philosophies, insofar as these influenced teachers and the organization and management of classrooms.

The concerns of the schools, and of individual faculty, dominated what children learned of both race and class in America. Regarding race, in three of the schools, the philosophies were individually- focused and did not usually take other than a "color-blind" perspective on race in America. Some faculty were concerned that children understand that being more priviledged, relative to American children as a whole ( and even black children generally), carried a unique social responsibility. Some were also concerned that children understand that being poor need not be associated with a host of "socially undesirable" traits. Many more faculty were concerned that the children in their schools, black or otherwise, have the benefits of solid, standard positive educational practices.

Generally, the black children behaved as if they liked their schools, possibly because they could actively participate in school and classroom life, because they experienced clear, consistent expectations for high personal educational achievement, because they knew their parents were concerned for their educational success, and because they did not, at this time in their lives, know that "school" could be any different from how they experienced it. Therefore, though schoolwork was acknowledged by them as difficult and demanding, and though many were not always as well-recognized as they might have been for individual accomplishments, the absence of overt race-related harassment, friendship ties, with selected peers, and genuine loyalty and fondness for their teachers, attenuated the academic and social pressures. The black children adapted, as did other children, to the educational environments created for them by the schools they attended with the active cooperation of their parents.

### Oak Lawn Black Students and School Life

At Oak Lawn black students, like all students, are encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning. Learning and instruction are teacher-centered and students are socialized to believe that their mastery of subject matter determines their performance on tests and quizzes, and therefore, the grades they receive from teachers. In the middle school, academic matters are approached in a serious, no-nonsense manner by faculty; little observed classroom time extends to non-academic matters, and student discipline is rarely a problem. Oak Lawn reflects a traditional approach to education when implemented at its best. Students in higher academic grade tracks typically receive more "A" grades, partly because they demonstrate greater proficiency on evaluative measures. Collectively, black students are more often placed in lower tracks. These students are usually exposed to the same curriculum as students in higher tracks, but teachers appear to expect a more demanding teaching effort with such students.

Social recognition in school life is closely linked to acknowledged successful student performance. This places some black students at a disadvantage relative to active participation in the breath of school life and extracurricular experiences with which they could become involved that are peer-dominated (e.g., Student Council). The school's relative inattention to black history and culture may further reinforce the view in all students' minds that blacks are not appropriate persons to be selected for important leadership roles and responsibilities. In addition, at the time of the observations, there were no black teachers in the middle school, and only one in the total school.

However, as a school Oak Lawn has actively pursued a policy of desegregation ( nearly 30 percent of its student body is black), and Oak Lawn is extremely proud, as it should be, of the cultural diversity of its entire student body. Oak Lawn encourages students from these diverse backgrounds to discover what they share in common, as persons and as students, and to use these commonalities as a basis for building relationships. Some of its educational practices (e.g., assigned lunchroom seating) facilitate inter-cultural contacts between students. Probably, if the students did not have families, and generally live in homogeneous neighborhoods and communities, this strategy for building inter-group relations would be even be more successful. Oak Lawn is distinguished by its unique vision of the relationship between education and social and cultural pluralism in America, as well as by the excellence of the academic education delivered to all of its students.

### Roman Black Students and School Life

Roman develops the identity of successful school achievers primarily through its commitment to academic excellence. Black and nonblack students learn that the most valued activity at Roman school is academic achievement. To become a member of the Roman school culture, one has to work very hard at academic pursuits. Teachers organized and manage their classrooms so that black and nonblack students can meet the school's high academic expectations. Lessons are intellectually demanding, directions are clear, praise is frequent although not effusive, and class discussions and activities correspond to the curriculum content.

Under demanding academic conditions both black and nonblack students achieve. Although the number of black students at Roman is very small, it was clear, that some of them were at the very top of their classes academically, and were socially accepted by their peer groups. There were a few students in the middle of the class and few black students with learning problems.

School life for black children clearly reflected Roman's philosophy of making no distinctions among students with respect to ethnic or racial differences. Black and nonblack students are given equal opportunities to participate in school activites. Teachers are as likely to select black as nonblack students for various school functions. Thus black students participate and are as likely to feel involved as nonblack students in Roman school.

What all black students do not receive at Roman school is a positive racial identity. The school deliberately avoids drawing attention to any racial or ethnic group. Although the philosophy of Roman is to minimize racial differences, the school recognizes the importance of having a diverse student body and is seeking ways to increase the number of minority students in the school. This may be problematic because the school tends to make some black students feel uncomfortable with their black identity. This point was expressed by a parent at a school meeting, " I am afraid my child is losing his sense of black identity." One way to increase the number of black students in the school would be to provide a positive social experience for the black children in the school which then could be communicated to other potential black applicants.

## St. August Black Students and School Life

Being a student at St. August means being a member of a caring multi ethnic and multi racial community. The school takes advantage of every religious holiday, special event, or classroom lesson to make the students feel that they are part of a culturally diverse closely knit group. Nonblack students are frequently exposed to black cultural experiences. As one teacher remarked, "You don't have to be black to learn about black culture." Thus, it is not unexpected that cross racial friendships were frequently observed.

A cultural identity is sometimes stressed over a religious identity, primarily because so many of the students are non Catholic. Social responsibility to one's classmates, to one's community and to the world, is the living doctrine of the classroom. Humanistic values, such as concern over social injustice, religious tolerance, and world wide peace are emphasized rather than religious ideologies and rituals.

In addition to these social values, the school emphasizes the acquisition of basic skills. Teachers work diligently at keeping all students at grade level or above, often staying after school until 5 o' clock providing extra help to students with academic problems. In-class and homework assignments are comprehensive and carefully monitored. Students receive frequent and positive feedback on their academic performance. Black students are proportionately overrepresented in the high and middle reading and mathematics groups. Although St. August has limited resources it has managed to have the majority of its students performing at grade level on standardized tests for reading and mathematics. The school may be able to improve these results by structuring more class learning activities around abstract concepts.

Black and nonblack students at St. August learn something in school that none of the students in the other schools learn, that is racial pride and cultural awareness. In American classrooms too often, black history and culture has received little or no attention. At St. August, black and nonblack children learn to appreciate the cultural heritage of black Americans. St. August is perhaps the most forward of the schools with respect to social relations, for it is preparing its students to be citizens of a multi ethnic and multi racial world.

### Monroe Black Students and School Life

Monroe middle school aged black students tend to be in the majority of ( 75-80 percent) in the school. Further, the nonblack minority population is white. However, relations between both groups of children are much more decisively determined by the unique, nontraditional features of this school's educational philosophy and organization. Monroe's history as a parent-originated, parent-governed, alternative school within a "liberal white" dominated Chicago community, and its current independent status as an experiment in child-centered open education, are the most decisive factors in how black children participate in school life at Monroe.

Monroe faculty expect children to be children, that is developing persons gradually learning to organize their behaviors in more adult-like goal-directed forms. Learning to organize one's behavior, to regulate the expression of feelings, and to use those feelings and sentiments toward academically productive individual and collective goals are all extremely important to education at Monroe. Therefore, in Monroe classrooms, typically middle school students receive assigned work at the beginning of the week, and may pursue these assignments in the course of the week at their own pace. These individual pursuits are interspersed with small group instructional activities focused on skill-building projects (e.g., math groups, computer groups). In this type of structured learning environment, there is considerable time for peer social interaction during regular "academic" classes, and there are also opportunities for children to spend time "off-task." Conversational topics covered by students with each other and their teachers while working on weekly assignments, are wide-ranging. Further, faculty actively involve students in planning for all activities inside and outside the classroom, again because of perceptions that this is an essential aspect of their "education."

Social recognition at Monroe depends upon the child's overall level of social competence. Children who can better organize their behavior toward academic study time, and who successfully negotiate and interact with significant numbers of their peers, adapt well at Monroe, and this includes black and nonblack children. However, although Monroe children are unusually free to "be themselves," constraints on their behaviors are introduced through teacher-facilitated formal and informal peer sanctions, by the perceived delegated "parent-like" authority held by their teachers, by the children's own awareness of the schoolwork to be accomplished, and by the close, continual, open communication between parents and teachers.

Because children are free to be childlike, whatever form that may take in their own families, neighborhoods, and communities, in many ways Monroe is an ideally racially integrated school. However, some of these relatively protected urban children could later experience some identity confusion when exposed to broader societal norms about race and class in America. Monroe children are especially in need of educational experiences which teach them how children like them whose schools are different from their own, experience life. While some of us wait for the "real world" to catch up to the socialization experiences modelled at Monroe, Monroe children deserve to be apprised of what that "other world" is about.

## Research and Policy Implications

Four paths to academic excellence have been described, each one of which middle income black children and families have been found to utilize adaptively. The implications of study findings for both educational policy and programs, as well as future research are discussed from the viewpoint of private school communities, black American families with school-aged children, and students of family school relations.

### Implications for the private school communities

Life in private schools for school personnel, parents and students has traditionally been a relatively unexplored research area. Few studies have systematically examined life in private schools, even fewer have focused on studying the relationships among school learning and socialization activities and family and community goals. Results of this study have revealed significant new information on family school choice alternatives, organization and structure of private elementary schools, student participation in school life, parent involvement in school activities, and professional responsibilities and obligations of private school personnel.

1. One of the most controversial issues being debated in the public arena has been whether to provide direct or indirect aid to families choosing private schools for their children in the form of tuition tax credits or education vouchers. Although the black community has not initiated or sponsored legislative proposals regarding family choice, they have strong diverse opinions on the educational benefits of such

policies for black children both rich and poor. A commonly held assumption is that the black community is unified in its' support for public education for black children. Results of this study indicate that differences in opinion among the black community regarding the use of public funds for educational vouchers or tuition tax credits center on whether the education that the majority of black children receive today would likely worsen if aid to private schools would increase. Black parents in this study were not opposed to the idea of public education, and in the past, public education was generally viewed as the only option for blacks to gain equal educational and financial opportunities in American society. Growing support for private education among the black community seriously challenges the monopolistic function of public schools to accomplish these ends. Private schools are emerging as a significant competitor to public education for black students. This trend is likely to continue to increase, particularly if the public schools do not provide opportunities for social mobility for black children.

2. The ethnic and racial composition of the student body in private schools has been changing considerably over the past fifteen years. For example, in Chicago area Catholic schools, black students represented 17 percent of the total population of elementary students in 1970. Within a ten year period, the percentage of black students in the school population increased to 30 percent (Catholic schools Office, 1982). Obtaining information on changes in the student composition of

private schools is very problematic. To learn about changes in the composition of the student body in Chicago area private schools, a mail and telephone survey had to be conducted as part of this study. The difficulties encountered in obtaining this information, highlight an overriding problem in conducting research on private elementary schools. National and state data bases collect very limited information on private schools. For example, the Illinois State Board of Education does not tabulate minority enrollments in private schools. Associations such as the National Association for Independent Schools, to which elite schools belong or the Alternative Schools Network, to which alternative schools belong, also do not release information on minority enrollments. Moreover, the National Center on Educational Statistics does not tabulate minority enrollments by school type. Serious efforts need to be undertaken to obtain a clearer picture of some basic organizational information on private schools.

3. Prior to this study, there were several testimonial accounts about the value and benefits of attending a small school. "Smallness" has been one of private schools unique and attractive features (with the exception of some Catholic schools). The average private school has an enrollment under 300 and in some affiliations a good deal less than that. The schools in this study would be considered "small". Roman's elementary total student body is slightly higher than this figure. However, all of the four schools maintain an average

student teacher ratio of 17 to one. Results of the in-school observations indicate that all students in these schools, both black and nonblack, are given ample opportunities to participate in schools activities and there is frequent communication among students and teachers. Although student participation takes a somewhat different form in each school, it appears that active participation and involvement help to develop the identity of a successful school achiever. Black students in these schools are seen as equal citizens having the same responsibilities, and accountable for the same levels of academic and social performance. Expectations for equal participation among black students in school life in these private schools is the norm. These results are quite different from some other studies (e.g., Rist, 1978) where blacks in desegregated school environments have marginal status, and are not expected nor encouraged to fully participate in school life.

4. Educational research has shown that one way to improve the quality of education is to encourage parent contact and involvement in schools. Results of this study reveal that educational quality is associated with parent participation. However, the form that effective parent participation takes varies across school settings. It is the socio-organizational structure of the schools that affects how parents participate in school life. Effective parent involvement is more closely linked to school and family goal expectations than direct participation. Parent participation in the four schools is

influenced by the parents' view of the purpose of schooling and reinforced by the school culture. Merely adding a parent advisory committee is unlikely to increase school effectiveness. Rather it is the building of a sense of commitment to certain educational goals among the school personnel, the students and their families that is one of the keys to school success.

5. At these schools, teachers are viewed by the administration, parents, and students as professionals. This acknowledged "professionalism" is earned through the efforts of the teachers, who are deeply committed to their work, spend hours beyond their classroom time preparing lessons designed to help students meet school standards, monitor student progress, participate in various activities to improve their performance as teachers, and support school fund raising endeavors. In all of the schools, the teachers praise, reprimand, and demand the same level of performance for all their students both black and nonblack. Some of the teachers are concerned about the social development of their black students and incorporate activities to enhance racial pride in their lessons. However, this is not indicative of the majority of the teachers. Teachers tend to behave more in conjunction with the expectations of the parents and school than out of their own convictions or ideals. The value the schools place on their staff, is evidenced by the intensive teacher selection process undertaken by all four schools. In the future, selection of more black and other minority faculty

could be beneficial for all children, who need opportunities to learn from persons from diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds. Teachers could also benefit from these relationships. However, teacher "professionalism" is not intrinsic to the teachers themselves, but is dependent on how the school and its' community view and support the role of the teacher in the educative process.

### Implications for black families

The findings of this study have particular implications for black families with school-aged children. In recent years, many more black American families have enjoyed middle to upper-middle class life styles. Little research has examined the implications of these newer life styles, particularly the desegregated life styles, for the education and development of the children in these families. Even fewer studies consider what the consequences of this emergent class are for black communities as a whole. It is generally assumed that they are uniformly good (e.g., Scanzoni, 1977, 1985). Parents themselves have few guidelines for school selection. As to educational quality, they are much clearer about what they do not want than what they do want. At present, it seems parents frame their educational goals intuitively, using their personal life histories, the impact of media-driven assessments of public education today, and the pressures of their current life styles as guides. Parents are less likely to consider alternative educational philosophies, or the long-range implications of differing educational settings for their children's personal-social development. Schools are not often perceived more broadly as socialization settings. Finally, parents are even less likely to consider the implications of the decisions they make for the black communities in which they and their children also participate.

1. There has been considerable recent debate over the merits of desegregated schooling. Results of this study indicate that desegregated private schooling is a viable educational option for black families prepared to cope with the culture of such a highly intimate, informal setting. Although instances of misunderstandings and some maltreatment were observed, generally the black children in these private schools are receiving an excellent academic education, and this is reflected in their achievement scores and personal self-percepts. Parents of attending children consistently emphasize the importance of being knowledgeable about school life, and of participating as frequently as possible, given the constraints of each school's social organization.

2. Second, results of this study also indicate there is no singularly perfect school for all black children and families. If initial mutuality of educational aims is very important, parents must be prepared to devote time to a systematic search for a school appropriate to their identified educational goals. Given a commitment to educational excellence, black children can achieve in highly diverse educational settings. With private schools, parents can use the admissions process to assess whether the school is right for their family, while

the school assesses whether their child is right for it. This type of parental appraisal presumes that parents know their educational philosophy, their child's particular strengths and weaknesses, and the broader implications of the family's life style for the kind of parental involvement it will be able to sustain within a given school community.

3. Third, results of the study indicate that peer relations and curriculum are particular points of interest for families. Between the four study schools there was considerable variety in the quality of children's peer relations. Racial interactive preferences were as important to these relations as child sex and level of social maturity. Children in schools with lower percentages of blacks had fewer chances of nominations by peers as persons to study with, be with, or be influenced by. The optimal percentages of black enrollments in such desegregated environments appear to be between 12-50%. (The lower figure represents the percentage of blacks in the national population.) It is also reasonable to expect the schools to have employed minority faculty available to the child's grade level. Both black and nonblack parents want their children to learn interracial tolerance; children's observations of role models in the form of faculty relationships would be very important in this regard.

Further, in the schools studied, more socially progressive than many such schools, there was virtually no attention to the social responsibilities of these children as members of middle income black families. The sending black parents wanted not only the academic basics, for their children, but also they be prepared to access the "best" educational institutions that this society can offer. They did not, in equivalent voice, demand that the children learn to be socially responsible. Further, there were few school-related curriculum activities which could serve to inculcate such values.

4. Fourth, at this time we can only speculate about the long-range implications of the children's experiences for themselves, and for the black community. What black parents and children are doing should not be construed as our belief of what they ought to do or not do. The current educational trend which many of the more privileged black families of the black community are pursuing may or may not be beneficial to individual children. The authors are more confident that the trend is further dividing the black community into the "haves" and "have nots." Those who "have" could become increasingly less knowledgeable about, and therefore feel less socially responsible for, the "have nots."

Reversal of this trend requires that black parents first develop alternative, supplemental educational experiences to sensitize their children, and second, become more active in the schools to build networks with other parents so as to encourage the schools to do more than the minimal currently being done. In this study, community-wide social prestige or reputational standing of the school seemed inversely correlated with an emphasis on social responsbility for others who are less fortunate. It is indeed ironic that those children potentially able to do the most, may be being inadvertantly socialized to care the least.

Each of these policy implications, as addressed to black American families, underscores the idea that they must begin to perceive schools as more than educational vehicles for social mobility and opportunity. Rather, they must perceive schools as socialization settings, particularly characterized by the processes of teaching and learning (Sarason, 1983).

Implications for students of family school relations.

Several observations are noteworthy, given the original hypotheses of this study (see chapter 4, p. 76). Based on existing literature it was predicted that: (1) Black families choose private schools in accordance with their own educational goals for their children; (2) Diversity of private school types would be significantly associated with diversity in black student outcomes; and (3) Private schools, as ecological settings, contribute significantly (i.e., beyond family background characteristics) to black students' educational outcomes, including achievement performance and self esteem.

1. First, it was found that parents do not necessarily consciously choose private schools in accordance with specific educational aims that extend substantially beyond a desire for social mobility and opportunity. However, intuitive parental educational philosophies do exist and are identifiable when parents are probed. The most important factor distinguishing

parental educational goals (see chapter 8) was whether the parents percevied the family (Authoritative, Humanistic response patterns) or the school (Deliberate, Traditional, Moral, Practical response patterns) as primarily responsible for the child's education. It seems more useful, given that each school had parents with a variety of educational goals, to conceptualize families and schools as continually engaged in a bi-directional socialization process relative to educational aims or objectives. In private schools, this process begins with admissions procedures.

2. Second, the differing schools did not have, on the traditional, product-oriented measures of achievment, self-concept, and peer status used in this study, substantially different child behavioral outcomes (see chapter 10). Essentially, it was found that coherent, consistent school cultures can support successful black students who meet academic grade level and personal-social expectations even if, when schools are described (see chapter 9), their cultures are found to be very different.

3. Third, average differences between children by school on measures of reading achievement do seem related to school differences in families' socioeconomic backgrounds, rather than to the school cultures in which they participate. Among blacks in particular, average family income rank and average reading achievment level vary directly and perfectly by school. These findings are important because this group of families, given their educaitonal levels, occupations, and

incomes, would be identified by American standards as minimally middle class (see chapter 7). In American society, even within the middle classes the specifics of socioeconomic status emerge as important correlates of some forms of academic achievement. Given study findings, this emergence appears to be contingent upon both academic subject matter and the kinds of images children and families create for themselves, in view of societal stereotyping, within the school's social system. Importantly, within the middle classes, including the black middle classes, there is at present simply too much diversity in familial life styles to predict in advance the families' educational priorities and to unilaterally assume educational benefits to this social status.

Although an ethnographic study like this cannot offer conclusive evidence that schools, whether private or public, contribute beyond family background to student achievement, it has been argued (see chapters 11, 12) that there is a very high probability that children unable to identify with the valued priorities and assumptions of their particular school are unlikely to be judged successful in it. They pose discipline problems that eventually lead to expulsion or withdrawal, whether or not they have high academic ability. The data suggest the hypothesis that school cultures without high academic standards that are clearly supported by their organizational and managerial characteristics contribute to students' perceptions of themselves as academic failures.

Further, there is every indication that the personal-social development of children will vary between schools. Children and families in the differing school cultures were observed to talk about the educational process and life in schools differently, and to be encouraged by school faculty to establish different personal priorities. Because each school had its own unique culture and "personality," it seems reasonable to expect that participating children are being encouraged to develop particular personal strengths. As one example, interracial and cross-class (socioeconomic) peer relations within the schools could impact these middle school children's identity development. Longtitudinal research relative to the formation of these children's adolescent identities is definitely indicated.

## Conclusion

This ethnographic study has revealed the complexities involved in educating black children even under optimal circumstances in American society today. Among families and schools in this study, generally there is no inherent conflict of interest between the children's family background or home environment and the desegregated private schools they attend. Parents desire, and schools want to give, the best in education that the society can offer. Black parents generally support the schools, and the schools expend considerable effort to treat the black children as they would any other American children.

Nonetheless, because of the historic educational patterns characteristic of the larger black community, black families are newcomers to these types of urban private schools. As families, they bring their own special interests and needs. Further, the life styles of middle class black families are, as are the life styles of all American families, undergoing rapid social change. For black families in particular, there is continual reappraisal of the merits of desegregated education for their children. On the one hand, they wish to prepare children for future social mobility and opportunity. Many are keenly aware of the extent of their own preparedness for entry into the life styles and statuses they currently occupy. On the other hand, they observe a society which may be undergoing a relaxation of commitment to equal opportunity for all citizens, regardless of racial or social backgorund, and they wish their children to competently negotiate a racially-stratified society. Those aware of this latter problem, side with schools in the belief that the home environment is primarily responsible for inculating racial pride and sense of responsibility in developing black children. However, both the black parents and the schools seem less aware of the other competing ideologies and norms frequently offered in the subtle socialization processes inherent to the educational environments of such schools.

Further, the private schools in this study have their own dilemmas and contradictions when it comes to black children and families. They understand that, in being desegregated, they are in the vanguard of most other comparable private schools. In these times, they are less likely than ever to be rewarded by constituent nonblack parent communities, or recognized by the society at large for what they have accomplished, and would like to accomplish, in the arena of education and race relations. Vulnerable to criticisms from both racial constituencies for highly differing reasons, the schools are almost stoic, and surely heroic, in their resolve to create and sustain educational environments which envision a future in which the spirit of the American dream will at last become a reality.

As researchers, we felt privileged and humbled by observations of these families and schools as they struggled to make meaning of the many contradictions in American society today so as to assure their children's educational futures.

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# Appendix A: Coding Manual for Parental Education Goals

Slaughter/Schneider
October, 1984
NIE Project

# NEWCOMERS: BLACKS IN PRIVATE SCHOOLS

## CODING MANUAL FOR PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL GOALS

The purpose of this manual is to describe how parental educational goals were identified and coded in our study from open-ended interview data. Work on the development of this manual extended from January, 1984 through August, 1984. Many factors converge to determine a family's choice of a particular school for their child. Therefore, we decided no one response to a particular interview question would be sufficiently informative. Rather, we decided to develop criteria to guide our research team in making a wholistic, admittedly subjective, judgment about the overall character of the rationalization offered by the parent(s) interviewed in response to questions in our parent interview section entitled "Family Educational Goals."

### PRELIMINARY FOCUS: INITIAL CODING CRITERIA

The open-ended questions in the Family Educational Goals section of our parent interview address six issues:

1) Prior educational experiences of the one or two responsible parents;

2) Parental perceptions of how children learn and develop;

3) Parental perceptions of the respective roles of teachers and parents in the child's learning;

4) How parents characterize the role of their child's school in current family life;

5) What parents envision as the desirable qualities of any school; and

6) Parental perceptions of the desirable outcomes of their child's education and schooling experiences.

DECISION RULES FOR CODING CRITERIA

When these criteria are systematically applied to an examination of obtained interview data, it is possible to distinguish six different response patterns. The patterns have been labelled: 1) Authoritative, 2) Deliberate, 3) Humanistic, 4) Moral, 5) Practical, and 6) Traditional.

First, families differ as to whether they see the primary authority for the child's education and schooling to reside within the family or within the school. Patterns classified as Authoritative or Humanistic emphasize the importance of the school for realizing the family's own educational goals for its children. Conversely, patterns classified as Deliberate, Moral, Practical, or Traditional emphasize school-centered authority for the child's education. Educational goals are to be defined by educators; the family supports the school's efforts.

Second, families differ in their perceptions of the centrality of the child's feelings in the educational process. Concern for the emotional climate of the school, the child's personal-social development, the roles of teachers and parents in motivating children typify either Humanistic or Practical response patterns. These themes are not recurrent in other patterns.

Third, emphasis on the social or reputational standing of schools occurs more frequently in the Authoritative and Traditional response patterns. The standards of the school, its educational curriculum, insofar as these are public, are particularly stressed in these response patterns, by comparison to the others: Deliberate, Humanistic, Practical, and Moral.

Fourth, emphasis on definite linkages between curriculum and other educational experiences and child learning and development outcomes is most characteristic of the Deliberate and Moral response patterns, in contrast to other patterns which tend to stress the quality of the child's immediate in-school experiences. The outcomes may stress either the personal capability for improved social standing in the future (Deliberate), or improved personal character (Moral). Other patterns either more often stress specific child achievement or occupational outcomes, and/or emphasize that if provided with the optimal environment learning environment, the child will develop optimally on its own terms.

We identified these six response patterns by examining interviews of parents whose children (typically 4th to 7th graders at the time of the interviews) attended four urban midwestern private elementary schools. One school was Catholic. One had initially begun as an Alternative school, though it now, as do the two remaining elite schools, participates in an Independent Schools network in these midwestern states. Therefore, some universal features of all response patterns should be described. Families were not distinguished on these criteria.

## UNIVERSAL ELEMENTS COMMON TO ALL RESPONSE PATTERNS

Nearly all families acknowledged the importance of preschool education. All but a handful had deliberately enrolled their child in preschool. Families perceived the child's high school graduation to be a minimal level of educational attainment. Nearly all aspired for college attendance, most for college graduation and even beyond. Families consider a strong background in the fundamentals of reading, writing, and arithmetic as essential to any good educational curriculum. Further, they expect a partnership between teachers and parents in the child's learning. Finally, they considered the informal, community-based academic reputation of the particular school they chose for their children. Many families report dissatisfaction with available public schools in their neighborhoods in view of their personal criteria for educational excellence.

In the following pages, first, coding procedures will be described, and second, a description of each of the six coding categories, with illustrative examples, will be presented.

## CODING PROCEDURES

Coding procedures began with inductive derivation of the response patterns. The two female co-principal investigators met weekly with three mature female graduate students, one black and two white. Two students (1 black, 1 white) and one investigator had conducted the home-based parent interviews. One student and one investigator had school-age children. All students were familiar with the aims of the overall study. They knew that the team effort would address a key study question: Why do black parents send their children to private schools?

Initially, 13 of the 131 obtained interviews from black and nonblack parents, or 10 percent, were independently read by at least two members of this research team. The 13 cases had been randomly chosen from the black (8 of 74 available) and nonblack (5 of 57 available) interviews from each of the four study schools. Three to four interviews were chosen from each school, and one to two nonblack parents within each school.

Team members were instructed to read the Family Educational Goals section of the parent interview view of the six criteria listed above. They should examine what had been the educational experiences of the parents themselves, as reported in the interviews, how did the parent envision children learning and developing, and so on. Each of the 13 cases was discussed and reviewed in detail in the groups, toward the goal of identifying a preliminary response pattern for the case that could be agreed upon.

Each of the final six response patterns emerged within the context of these preliminary discussions (4 Deliberate, 2 Authoritative, 2 Humanistic, 2 Moral, 2 Traditional, 1 Practical). Black and nonblack parents were represented in four of the six patterns; Practical and Authoritative occurred only among black parents in this initial group of 13. In this small group, five of the six patterns occurred at only one school. These initial results were not surprising, because the four schools had been deliberately chosen to maximize the probability of differing educational philosophies. However, student readers knew little of these philosophies, and readers did not judge interviews they had conducted.

The relative naivete of the student members of the team was very important because both co-investigators had interviewed top administrators at each school. During these team meetings, however, the schools attended by the parents' children were not discussed; the focus was on the response pattern of the individual interviewee.

After preliminary consensus was established about the salient features of each of the six inductively-derived response patterns, and tentative descriptions written, 72 interviews were coded by two members of the research team. The purpose of having two judges was to achieve consensus on the classification of a particular response pattern. Whenever the two co-investigators were not raters, the judges were mixed-race pairs. Black interviews were rated first, and a Gutman scale was used to assign interviews in sequence to each pair of judges. Major identified discrepancies in classification were discussed and resolved within the group. Later, three additional female raters (2 black, 1 white) were added to the team. They assisted in coding the remaining 46 interviews, and in resolving earlier discrepancies. The two new black judges had conducted parent interviews, but not at the schools of the parents they rated. Finally, the co-principal investigators reviewed all 131 classifications, even in instances where there had been no discrepancies (63 of 131 cases or 48 percent). Therefore, every case had a minimum of three readings, and some had more.

Raters routinely identified, on a coding form, the key responses and phrases that determined their final classification. All raters carefully inspected responses to questions 52-56, 61b, 62b, 63-66, 41-42,44 when making their decisions. These questions had been identified by the initial research team as being particularly helpful in judging family educational goals. The rating sheet and the Family Educational Goals section of the Parent Interview are appended to this manual. Raters used only this section of the interview in making their final decisions.

Both black and nonblack parents had response patterns in each of the six categories. More than one school was implicated in all but one (Practical) of the six categories. Though raters had been instructed to identify any newly emergent response patterns that could not be readily classified into one of the existing six categories, none were. The major difficulty raters had was to prioritize response patterns within the existing six. Once the decision rules described in the introductory section were established, the process of judging was simplified.

In the final classification, the response patterns were distributed as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| Authoritative | 19 |
| Deliberate | 33 |
| Humanistic | 34 |
| Moral | 10 |
| Practical | 13 |
| Traditional | 22 |
| Total | 131 |

## CODING DEFINITIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

The key elements of each response pattern are listed prior to a more descriptive, wholistic definition. These elements essentially distinguish the one response pattern from the other five, because they are not found, in combination, in any of the other patterns. The definition is a thumbnail sketch of the pattern, with a primary focus on how the elements converged to cause the parents to choose private schooling for the child. Illustrations follow each of these definitions. Of course, there are universal elements common to all response patterns. These were presented earlier.

Following is a brief listing of the specific question typically used by judges in making classifications. These questions will not be repeated in the remainder of the manual, and should be referred to if the reader is doubtful of the question to which the interviewee responds.

QUESTION NO.

(41) What was your best teacher like?

(42) How did your teachers discipline the classes?

(44) Thinking back to your own school days, what would you most want to change if you could relive them?

(52) In your opinion, what experiences, if any, did (secondary caregiver) have during his elementary or secondary school years that influenced his (her) decision to send "child's name" to a private school?

(53) Between the two of you who feels most strongly in favor of private schooling for "child's name" and why?

(54) What is different about the schooling children you know receive now, by comparison to when you went to elementary school?

(55) What do you think the difference is between the teacher's job and the parent's job, as far as helping children to learn?

(56) Where do you get most of your information about schools? What do you think of the schools in your neighborhood?

(61b) How did you choose this school for "child's name"? Describe the process.

(62b) Did you go through a similar process when selecting day care and/or a preschool (nursery) for "child's name"? Describe.

(63) At this time, what is your idea of the essential elements of a quality education for your child?

(64) How is this view of education reflected in your decision to send "child's name" to a private school? Specifically, how does the school your child attends compare with your "ideal school"?

(65) If your family lived elsewhere, would you still prefer to send "child's name" to a private school? Why or why not?

(66a) Identify and list at least four qualities you and your family would like to see developed in your child as a result of the education he (she) is receiving.

(66b) In general, what do you feel your child needs to know in order to get along in this world?

(68) How far in school would you like to see "child's name" go?

(72) What occupation do you want "child's name" to have when he (she) finishes school?

(73) Why?

(74) What type of occupation would you be most dissatisfied

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with?

Other questions in this section pertain to parental expectations for the child's educational attainment, and past and present aspirations and expectations held for themselves (questions 45-49, 67, 69-71). Still others ask the parent to characterize the social context of the elementary school attended when approximately the same age as the focal child (questions 31-40, 43), and probe the schooling experiences of this child prior to the present one attended (questions 57-61a, 62a).

THE AUTHORITATIVE RESPONSE PATTERN

There are six key elements of this response pattern, each of which will be enumerated, in order of greatest to least priority, prior to a more wholistic description.

1. First, these parents reached the decision to send their child to its school after a very systematic investigation of alternative options, primarily because they see themselves as being very responsible for the quality of education their child receives inside and outside of school;

2. Second, these parents are very vocal and articulate about the educational philosophy of their child's school. They easily evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of the school, as far as how it affects their child;

3. Third, the parents believe they are responsible for ensuring teacher accountability. Mechanisms for clearcut teacher accountability and high academic standards are perceived lacking in many American schools;

4. Fourth, these parents believe that the essential

elements of a quality education for their child includes exposure of that child to children of socially and culturally different backgrounds;

5. Fifth, the parents believe that the ideal school should have, in addition to a strong, broad academic program that is intellectually challenging, a focus on the social fabric of society, including social problems; and

6. Sixth, the parents believe that the optimal educational environment plays an important role in the formation of the child's social identity and the maintenance of its self-esteem.

SUMMARY DEFINITION: THE AUTHORITATIVE CHOICE MODEL

Parents who stress the importance of their own responsibility for their child's education are parents who choose a school primarily because they perceive it offers them the best opportunity to protect their children from adverse in-school social experiences. These parents often vividly describe the negative educational experiences that children can have, and are determined that these experiences not become part of their own children's lives. They are very aware that education occurs in a larger American social and cultural context, and seek ways to both minimize the impact of perceived negative features of our society and maximize perceived positive ones. The specifics of these "features" may vary between families, but interests are very similar: These parents want to retain influence vis-a-vis teachers and school administrators in their child's education. They believe that a deficient education is the probable outcome of relinquished parental responsibility. They choose a school whose faculty and staff can be trusted to adhere very closely to the family's educational standards. They are sensitive to any aspects of the school environment which could attenuate their family's control and influence over the child.

The desire to maintain control of educational standards often led the family to select private schooling. However, such parents are not overly child-centered. When they discuss the child's learning and development, they generally emphasize the quality of instruction that the child receives, rather than the child's feelings about it.

These parents believe that the child's teacher must expect that he or she can learn, and deliver the curriculum accordingly. They want teachers to be on task as much as possible. Their specific ongoing parental role is to support the school in its maintenance of high academic standards. However, these parents also firmly believe that they are competent judges of whether children are being adequately instructed. They prefer that, in relation to their child, the authority of teachers and administrators be subject only to the authority of themselves.

Case 244

Both mother and father participated in this interview, but father's views predominated.

(41) Fa: I had more than one. I was youngest of six, when I came along, (I) was known. Teachers were more sensitive to me.

Mo: (No answer)

(42) Mo: Spanking or pinched;

Fa: Whipped...

(44) Fa: Lot of politics; teachers got jobs that way; a lot of

them were not qualified;

Mo: (Get rid of a) Couple of teachers who talked about their lives rather than teaching us.

(52) Fa: If I had been properly motivated, (I) could have achieved more - you couldn't inspire to be certain things when I was young - Only certain things - No one ever used their imagination to think of how times would change for us and direct us toward the future. Hopefully - our (Black) kids won't have to face this. I wanted my kids to have the best they could get.

(53) Fa: Don't know. We aren't that sold on private schools. We're sold on a good education.

(54) Fa: (Now) Unbelievable - outstanding _ there is no comparison as far as teaching you to think - as far as exposure, no comparison. My 8 yr. old can do things how I couldn't do in 7th grade and he's in 3rd!

(55) Fa: Children learn from parents. Teachers are to supplement that learning with more particular goals in a more structured sense. The federal government says you have to have schooling it's not left up to a particular municipality to decide that... but I don't feel that the teachers are responsible for education... They're the catalyst - the parents are responsible to see to it that their kids are educated...

(56) Fa: We read the neighborhood publication - Today's paper on the merit scholars list - Oak Lawn had none.

(61b) Fa: J. was very advanced in reading - he was just not being challenged - wanted smaller class sizes - (in public, neighborhoodschool) Oak Lawn has a reputation of this and (of) tutoring - highly recommended by a neighbor;

Mo: They weren't giving him the grades - the system - (He) Could read like a 12 year old in 2nd grade - He wasn't getting books, etc.

(62b) Fa: We wanted him in the Montessori School based on a friend's recommendation... He was an only child - with no young kids - we wanted (him to have) more interaction with age mates - entered at 2 1/2 yrs. old - by Christmas - he was ready to learn to read - started on his own - saw things in the paper - age 3...

(63) Fa: We're striving: (We want) Foreign languages, Math proficiency, good reading and writing knowledge of English...

(64) Fa: Out of a 10, I'd give it a low 5 - He would be as well educated if going to a public school. At the time - we didn't know the school is catching and the kids do become attached to each other. We aren't necessarily pushing Oak Lawn high school - politics at that school - the white kids are pushed a little harder - They make it easier for them to get A's. They're not totally unfair, they give him what he makes but not a lot of encouragement.

(65) Fa: Yes. Firstly, he a special person and he functions better around that kind of a peer group... He is quiet by nature, not out-going, has his own mind made up - has own interests - not accustomed to rudeness and boisterousness.

(66a) Fa: 1) positive self-image;

2) to be who he is - and whatever qualities those are;

3) to be himself...

(66b) Fa: A good education - the only thing I feel I'm responsible for - the one legacy I have to give.

(68) As far as he wants, even to the moon...

(72) Whatever he needs to be self-sufficient.

(73) I'm a business man; hopefully he'll want it, if he doesn't, I won't push. After he's in high school, we'll have family projects in the business...

(74) I wouldn't care...

CASE 216

This case was difficult to classify. This mother strongly believes good teachers are essential for children to learn, and wants personalized academic attention to her child. There are, therefore, elements of the Deliberate response pattern in her answers. Further, like Traditional parents, she appears to have considered only private schooling for her child. However, the mother's convictions about her educational views stem primarily through first-hand experiences that have been very systematic, given her work in the teaching profession. She is extremely vocal and articulate, even intense, about her educational preferences, especially in her emphasis on administrative and teacher accountability. Thus, she leaves little doubt that she intends to be in charge of her child's education. Deliberate parents are not as likely to stress "holding administrators and teachers accountable," but instead, stress teachers/school responsibility, a subtle, but important, difference. Primarily for these reason, the mother's response pattern was classified as Authoritative, even though she does not stress either exposure to children of socially or culturally different backgrounds or maintenance of social identity.

(41) I remember teachers who were challenging and recognize my

abilities.

(42) Writing "lines"; expulsion (from class)

(44) To have a car (laughs)

(52) No.

(53) Both equally, because of public education... I feel I'm in a legitimate position to make that evaluation. I'm in college and we get the products of public schooling. The big thing is the under-educated student who wants college. Big thing is developing programs for students at their level... I teach (developmental) college reading, and English. I've got students in grade 2 - 6 level. They've been through public school, and they want college. I know what I'm talking about - other teachers have the same problem. The students aren't ready!

(54) The teachers aren't accountable... Continuous progress aided the unaccountability. I don't know what happened. When I was a day-to-day sub. in public school, there were some teachers who were proud that their students were at grade level. Others have students who can't do at all - what was that woman doing with those kids for a year? Who is she accountable to? You have to do a little all the time. The administration knows, but nothing is done about the "injured body" - the student. What happened between now and 20 years ago? Nobody is speaking up for those students. They had parents there and consultants. Now somebody is responsible! I don't want my kid involved in that - I want someone to tell me what's going on. (Mo continues to offer vivid and livid testimony re: problems with parochial schools.)

(55) I am supplementary. I tried once to teach (an older son). He was confused, so I found it better to supplement.

(56) (Note: The mother expended considerable words in describing what she knows via her own experiences as a teacher at many different educational levels, as well as her community contacts in neighborhood public and parochial schools. The thrust of these words was that the education in these contexts was very deficient in quality, and decidedly not what she wants for her child. She also reports a belief that these neighborhood schools became less accountable, especially after black parents demanded (and received?) a black principal.)

(61b) (Not strictly applicable, mother never considered another, given her political perspective re: education generally.)

(62b) I'd had him in another one - but administration changed for worse. The B. was ethnically mixed; the directress's teacher had been taught by Maria Montessori. The kids could recognize continents and other things, as opposed to other nursery schools which just baby sit.

(63) Concerned teachers; Prepared and knowledgeable teachers; talented teachers; individual attention to students.

(64) It was the total decision... Classes are small; it's ethnically mixed. Good program; Standards are high. They're getting into computers now. Lot of parent involvement - I'm not - but lots who don't work - are involved.

(65) Maybe. It would depend. It's kind of ridiculous, because you pay taxes for public schools (i.e., and should be able to use them.).

(66a) 1) independence

2) responsibility

3) intelligence

4) just being a good person

(66b) He has to think, know how to use it.

(68) Wherever his interest is. College is not for everyone... It depends on him.

(72) To be able to do something - be prepared to support himself - whatever he's good at.

(73) (No answer)

(74) Being a bum, etc.

## THE DELIBERATE RESPONSE PATTERN

There are five key elements of this response pattern.

1. First, these parents believe good teachers are absolutely essential for children to learn. Because the parents firmly believe that children cannot learn without good teachers, the hallmark of an excellent school is excellent teaching. In short, parents are not educators, teachers are;
2. Second, these parents believe that good schooling provides training in communication, organizational, and generally, social skills. Success in school, and success in life, require exposure to such training in part because it enhances self-confidence.
3. Third, these parents openly express dissatisfaction with the poor quality of education they experienced as children. They are very determined that their children receive something better; they want a good educational foundation, order and structure in the classroom, and an enriched curriculum that provides for the special needs and talents of their child;

4. Fourth, these parents have very high educational and occupational standards. They typically project professional status for their child; they are definitely not content to let the child decide for itself; and

5. These parents particularly like small classes because they believe they provide more opportunities for personalized individual attention and instruction. They frequently emphasize that the special attention received and needed by their child could not be provided in schools with larger classes.

### SUMMARY DEFINITION: THE DELIBERATE CHOICE MODEL

Parents in this category choose private schooling primarily to introduce academic as well as social skills they perceive they are unable to give their child elsewhere (e.g., home, public schools). The school is perceived as playing a vital, independent, role in the total development of the child. It is the school's responsibility to nurture the individual talents of the child in order to maximize her or his opportunities for social mobility. Parents expect the school to provide an educational experience for their child that includes quality instruction in basic skill areas, and exposure to desirable social skills.

School is a place to "learn all about the world and how to get along in it." Communication and organizational skills are as important as learning to read and write. Teachers, rather than parents can accomplish these tasks because of their pedagogical expertise, and therefore, dedicated teachers are highly respected.

These parents believe the private school experience will

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extend the child's college and career choices. Such choices may not have been available to the parents when they themselves completed high school. A private education will ensure the child with the necessary qualifications to enter a "good college", which will eventually guarantee the child high occupational status attainment.

CASE 019

(41) My fifth grade teacher. She was very intelligent, kind, considerate, rational, and reasonable.

(42) Brutality -- kids were paddled in the hand. Writing on the board 100 times.

(44) The subject requirements and different subjects added. History was limited and biased. The teachers needed to be changed because of inadequate materials and preparation.

(52) He didn't make the decision at all for her to attend. It didn't make any difference to him either way.

(53) Mother.

(54) I wanted something different for my children and I've had an opportunity to realize just what is important for a person's future. The academic requirements are more advanced. More individualized instruction, more parent participation. More parent input and concern about the curriculum. Just the reverse of what was in my school -- pupil composition. The pupil composition is mostly white in my daughter's school while it was only black in my elementary school.

(55) The teacher has access to all the materials to work with. Parent has to have input from the teacher to work with the child

at home. Also provide emotional support.

(56) I have a degree in business education which I received in the last 5 years. Books about and for children are subscribed to. There are some good magnet schools but my children never qualified for them. They did not attend public schools.

(61b) My child needed more of a challenge. As a result, I found my daughter was 2 1/2 and 3 levels above her peers. I did some investigation. She tested at Roman and L. and was accepted at both, but I selected Roman because it was 10 minutes away from my office.

(62b) Same process. I was looking for the best. Convenience was also a factor.

(63) A school that is aware of changes for the purpose of preparing children to meet those changes. Since this school meets my standards, I would rely on the school to select the proper instructors.

(64) Roman rates a 10 on a scale of 1 - 10 but there could be more minority children.

(65) Maybe... The community would determine that. I don't think there is a community in Chicago that has schools that would offer what I want for my daughter.

(66a) 1) preparation for college years -- to meet challenge of any college, not a specific career.

2) prepared for a society where middle and upper income people function.

3) cultural exposure.

4) self-motivated, self-starter.

(66b) Basic understanding of people -- their purpose in life and an acceptable means of communication.

(68) M.D. - cardiovascular surgeon.

(72) Cardiovascular surgeon.

(73) Because she has set that as a goal and would consider herself somewhat of a failure if she didn't achieve that goal.

(74) Clerical, a secretary.

CASE 415

Case 415 does not have all of the elements of a Deliberate response pattern. The parent unfavorable compares education today with what she received as a child on many dimensions, so element 3 is not unambiguously present. However, the overall message of the protocal responses is that education is an important vehicle for social advancement, and therefore, lifetime security.

(41) Older lady, friendly, outgoing. The type of teacher who made you feel good and warm. She also knew my parents. My mother participated in some of the activities at school. So there was a relationship. She seemed to care about what was going on at school and at home.

(42) They used a ruler, yard stick, stand in corner. They did strike children.

(44) I wish I could change some of the poverty because I did go to school in a very poor neighborhood. We didn't realize it at the time, but we were really poor. It didn't hold us back. We were not really that aware, but I do remember times when we didn't have certain books or we had to share books or couldn't take books home.

(52) I don't think his educational experiences came into play in sending him to a private school.

(53) Me (mother). In some of my classes, I came into contact with several educational theories. I knew at the time that K. was ready to go to school that the public schools were not really what I felt would really give him the type of education that I had. Even though I went to a public school, I feel I got a very well-rounded education in the public schools. I know now that it's almost impossible [to get a good education in the public schools] unless you go to one of magnet schools or one of the special schools. I felt at the time I wanted K. to have more than what was offered in the public schools. I also decided on a private school for non-academic reasons. I knew I had to get him to school where I could get him in the morning and leave him until I got off from work.

(54) Schooling now is not as structured as when I went to school. You knew what you had to do. More discipline in terms of knowing what you had to do and what you were expected to do. It's kind of hard because I see one thing at Monroe and another thing in the public schools. At Monroe the teachers are very, very dedicated. They are very similar to then. Most of the teachers I had when I was in school were older and very dedicated. Now teachers are fairly young. When I went to school, most of the teachers had been teaching some time; they were older so they (were) used to being a disciplinarian. There are more materials now than when I was in school. We had the basic reader, the basic math. Parents had less of a say-so about what went on in school, but they participated more in PTA

meetings. They usually knew their children's teacher very well. Now it's a little different. Parents are not as involved as they should be. When I was in school, it was a segregated school and most of the people were in the same economic categories. Now there is more of a mixture.

(55) They both should play a part in helping the child to learn. There are some things the teacher should be responsible for and some things the parent should be responsible for. The actual fundamentals should be the teacher's function to set the groundwork for learning. It is also the parent's part to reiterate what the teacher is doing so that when a child comes home you can carry on what they learned in school in terms of helping them with their homework even doing other things not related to homework but will help them to learn. It's twofold. It tends to overlap.

(56) From reading. I know a few teachers. I'm not that familiar with the schools in the neighborhood. There's a high school and a grammar school in the neighborhood. I am more familiar with the high school. I don't know anyone who goes to the grammar school. I do know that they have had problems with the children coming home and being bothered by bigger kids. In terms of what they offer in an academic program I know very little about that.

(61b) A neighbor had given me some info about Monroe. I really found out about the existemce of Monroe through a telephone directory. My husband used to take me to work sometimes in his pickup truck... So he went past the school. He would go evidently about the same time that the parents would be driving up with the kids. I noticed this everyday. At first, I didn't know it was a school because it didn't look like a school... finally it dawned on me... I went to the phone book to find what school was located at that location. Later a neighbor gave me some information and that (was) when I contacted them.

(62b) I selected that -- it really selected me. I work at ... so it was offered through their program. It was convenient. I could take him with me and pick him up when I left work. The program was looking for children of staff members.

(63) He should learn the basics -- read, count so that he can function in this world. I am not saying that they should teach him to be a whiz kid because that's something that really doesn't come from education. I really want him to get the basic fundamentals from learning, how to take care of himself, learn how to get a job, how to function in this society.

(64) Monroe really fits my ideal of a school because it's structured but not so structured so as not to let him grow as an individual. When I went to school, it was very structured and you had to sit with your hands on your desk when the teacher was talking. When someone came into the room you had to stop and say hello. It's good to be disciplined in a situation such as that, but then again I want him to be free to express himself and to do the things that interest him. That balance is there (i.e., at Monroe) -- it's not all one-sided.

(65) Maybe... Very hard to say. Because we did not just send him there because of the schools in the neighborhood, we sent him there for other things. If I could find the same type of public

school in another area that was similar to Monroe, I'd send him to the public school.

(66a) 1) knowledgeable - be able to read, write.

2) communicate with people

3) feel good about himself -- that's important in his relations with other people.

4) be disciplined in his thinking, in his actions.

(66b) Feeling good about himself. If he feels good about himself, he will want to excel in everything he does. He will want to excel in terms of relating to people. If he feels good about himself... that will carry over to other things.

(68) At least post graduate level. Whether or not he wants that is another thing.

(72) Go into medicine or maybe an architect. Maybe a doctor. What he does, doesn't make much difference as long as it is something will sustain him financially and something that he enjoys.

(73) Because right now those are careers that have prestige and offer financial security. If you get to be a doctor, you really don't have to worry about paying your rent. People in those occupations are usually financially sound.

(74) A policeman.

## THE HUMANISTIC RESPONSE PATTERN

There are six key elements of this response pattern.

1. First, these parents want their children to learn in an environment that is pleasant, joyful, and relatively non-competitive. They judge the goodness of a school according to

whether children are both academically productive and happy within it, and they feel very competent of making such judgment;

2. Second, the parents stress the importance of teachers who create an atmosphere that fosters curiosity, creativity, and problem-solving as necessary components of the learning process;

3. Third, these parents believe that parents and teachers generally should have an open, close relationship; communication about the child's welfare and development should be frequent; and both formal and informal channels should be used;

4. Fourth, parents believe that small classes and individualized instruction are important elements to a child's productive and happy life in school;

5. Fifth, parents expect the school to play an important, significant role in the child's general personal-social development; and

6. Sixth, parents believe that excessive bureaucratic rigidity and constraints in many schools thwart these essentials of quality education.

### SUMMARY DEFINITION: THE HUMANISTIC CHOICE MODEL

Parents who choose private schooling primarily for humanistic reasons emphasize the kind of person they want their child to become, and the kind of personal-social relationships they want their child to have while in the process of "becoming." They are keenly aware of their child's unique talents, strengths and weaknesses, and they expect the child's schooling experiences to capitalize on the child's unique individual expressions. They may stress that they want their child to be challenged academically, but they are just as likely to stress that they

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want their child to mature socially as a consequence of its close, personal contacts with adults and children who may hold different, but complementary, values and perspectives.

These parents expect close ties between their family and the school. They view the child's learning and development as essentially a result of a partnership between themselves and their child's teachers. The school's role is one of extension of the family's role as educator. Feelings generated as a result of the child's interactions are important dimensions of the teaching-learning process. Teachers are expected to thoughtfully attend to children's feelings, and to respond to them. In short, the school is perceived as an extension of the family; parents are looking for an educational environment that is child-centered and affect-based; the focus is on what the child needs to develop.

Flexibility and responsibility are highly desirable qualities of a school, as far as these parents are concerned. Children should be able to learn how to learn independently; this means that all school activities are considered from the vantage point of their contribution to a quality education for the child. Further, teachers and administrators, are expected to accommodate to any immediate familial exigencies which could affect the child's learning and participation in school. They understand that the willingness of school faculty and staff to accommodate is frequently contingent upon the expected close ties established as a result of continuing, reciprocal exchanges of both material and nonmaterial resources between themselves and the school.

CASE 414

(41) Friendly with high standards. She had style and class, yet she was very strict. We liked strict teachers who kept order.

(42) Corporal punishment, verbal abuse, sometimes praise-just for the people who were outstanding but usually through embarrassment.

(44) The lack of challenge to motivate the innovative and different child.

(52) None.

(53) Both equally, because of the positive results we've had and because of the terrible conditions of the public schools due to the instability of finances, not the quality of teachers.

(54) Today lack of stability with faculty; lack of sense of community between children and teachers; very little preparation of children for school by [the parents]; lack of total dedication on the part of the parents to support the school system. The low standards of the parents, teachers, and children.

(55) Both have to love and nurture. Teacher has to develop the child. The parent has to help develop the child's potential to learn. Most important, set firm standards for respect for adults who will work with - that child - that is the parent's role.

(56) I'm a teacher. I know many of the teachers... there are very low expectations. Most of the children in the neighborhood school are bused in. A lot of EMH, learning disabilities so that it really isn't a community school.

(61b) Through my neighbor who is a Montessori teacher. I was going to put him in a child-parent center which is a very strict, disciplined environment. Knowing my child, she kept telling me he was just made for a Montessori School, and she liked Monroe.

(62b) M. started Monroe at 2 years 8 months. (Same as answer to # 61b.) The suggestion of my next-door neighbor.

(63) High motivation; an environment where he feels happy; challenging work, the ability to compete with himself, and an excitement for learning... that's my main criteria. I am not as concerned about competition. The excitement for learning should carry over after school hours.

(64) It meets my needs. My formation about an opinion of an ideal school has been formed because of Monroe.

(65) Yes, because he has always been excited about going to school. Monroe has been a stabilizing factor when times were a little confusing in his life because of the early morning and after school care. Monroe has been a nurturing environment for him. If I lived in another city or community... (well) I am not sold on private schools. I never have believed in private schools before my children started attending them.

(66a) 1) creativity

2) reading skills

3) thinking skills - transfer and apply knowledge

4) good study habits - good work habits, organizational skills.

(66b) Ability to understand and handle people.

(68) College degree - development of a particular profession - something beyond the normal such as piano player something in the creative arts.

(72) He's aware of the limitation of being a professional sports player and that he must combine that with a more stable career.

(73) He's looking for something exciting as well as money making. I'd be very happy if he were an artist of some type. I have no doctor, lawyer aspirations. He also considers being an architect, like his father.

(74) Never considered professional sports as the sole occupation -- realizing the limitations of being one of the few who makes it.

CASE 501

(41) Very warm, comfortable with students, manifested joy of teaching... history, social studies, artistic... It didn't register then, but the teachers was interested in Dance...

(42) Don't remember much about discipline, (but) through fear.

(44) Probably prefer more open classroom... more comfortable environment in which to learn.

(52) None in those years...

(53) Mother... father supported... focused on present, everyday experiences (i.e., in school)... dad maybe more goal-oriented (i.e., re: long-term outcomes).

(54) Now... parents more involved and aware of what's available in education... choice... quality is all much better.

(55) Should be mutually supportive... desire for learning should come from home; teacher's skill more specific; overlapping roles...

(56) (This) depends on individual experience of (the) child (with any particular teacher in any particular school)... (I) taught at Monroe... get information from parents with kids in

(other) schools...

(61b) I think I actually chose Monroe for me, as a teacher based upon quality of teachers there, the kind of people, attitudes regarding childhood development and their feelings about how children learn, belief that children instinctively had a tremendous curiosity, ability to do well. Before... came back to Chicago area, automatically put them in...

(62b) Yes, talked different people who had children in (pre) schools... program appealed to me... went over, interviewed (mainly emphasis on children's play).

(63) Creates desire or curiosity, joy in learning process, as (the) child gets older, more importance of curriculum... teacher (must) enjoy what (he or she is) doing, well-versed in subject area.

(64) Teachers at Monroe (are) caring, compassionate, sensitive people; a real focus on individual development, real concern, focus on individual total development... As ideal as any that could (be) imagined for A. She's always loved it felt Monroe like a second home, done very well academically... something "ivory-towerish" about it, her other sister chose to leave; I've always thought of A. as adaptable, flexible... fit in anywhere...

(65) No... depends on quality of the school in the neighborhood where we lived.

(66a) 1) love of learning;
	2) general curiosity about knowing things;
	3) develop more structure or discipline; re: working;
	4) ability to interact with all different kinds of people.

(66b) Now, a sense reality... need to be able to cope, to adjust, to see options... know that if one way doesn't work, another might... Faith in one's ability and one's own instincts...

(68) Her choice... graduate work or professional.

(72) Choose something she enjoys doing.

(73) (You) do better and happier when doing something you've chosen for self.

(74) Prostitution probably, day laborer... (I have) a certain scorn for (one's) being a secretary...

CASE 410

This interview is unusual in that both primary and secondary caregivers were present. There is considerable consensus between the two as far as educational values, though father is more concerned with child protection, and emphasizes more of the negative aspects of public schooling. Both parents have elements of the Authoritative model in that they self-consciously explored educational options for their child, even long before the child was ready for preschool. However, throughout they emphasize the child's personal-social development, as do other Humanistic parents. Generally, both Authoritative and Humanistic parents are very family-centered when it comes to overall perception of primary responsibility of accountability for the quality of the child's education.

(41) Fa: Kind, considerate, fair;

Mo: Fifth grade teacher who exposed them to a lot of things; lots of field trips -- suddenly planned trips. Teacher had blanket permission to take class on trips memorizing poetry.

There was very little attention paid to relationships with children in any of my schooling. So that is something that I've come to value.

(42) Fa: Teacher would make children stand in the clothes' closet or stay after school;

Mo: Teacher would make the whole class sit with their hands folded until it was felt people were under control and send people out into the hall who disrupted one by one. Children who had acted out might not go on a field trip.

(44) Fa: The experience of learning could be made more interesting;

Mo: Teachers could have understood and appreciated the positive elements in children.

(52) Fa: Yes, some children didn't learn in public school. Public schools in large, metropolitan areas can be unsafe physically and emotionally for children. I didn't want my daughter beat up because she didn't pay some bully like I did (i.e., Fa. paid off.).

(53) Mother

(54) Mo: Not sure it is different. I'm for the best schools at a given time in a given area. In our neighborhood that means private schools in 1983. If public education were available here, I wouldn't opt to pay this high tuition for a private school. Not any difference. There were good schools then just as now but you have to seek them out. Difficult to compare schools unless you talk about particular schools. At Monroe more teacher time is spent in fostering personal relationships than

was spent in my school. There are probably schools today where it is done very much like it was done at my school;

Fa: In general, it's probably worse. Children come through the educational system now less better educated. Educational systems are not doing as good a job as they used to and environmental influences on children inhibit their capacities to learn as well. Quality of education today is a little less. Materials are about the same.

(55) Mo: Teacher's (job is) more specific. There's lot of overlapping. Teacher's job to support (children's) learning - to organize the material, that coincides with a child's cognitive development. A teacher understands how to do that better. The parent's job is more general -- to provide general stimulation that increases or intensifies as a child develops or changes as a child develops as well as to create an environment at home that is consistent enough to meet demands made at school so that the child is not confused. Parent should understand what is being demanded of the child at school so some consistency can be provided.

(56) Mo: Other parents, other children, the media, first hand observations. In the final analysis the largest emphasis is placed on first hand observations and investigation. The public school where I would send my daughter, I don't have good feelings about it. In terms of private schools, I have a different feeling about Monroe School. I have some negative feelings about some of the private schools too, based on what I've seen and heard. I haven't visited them all at this level. I visited the (private) schools systemically when my daughter was 3 and had

very different feelings about them.

(61b) Mo: I worked with a woman whose children went to Monroe before my daughter was born. From this woman's description of her children's experiences, then after my daughter was born, but long before she was ready for school, I began to have some contact with Monroe. I went to an Open House, I talked to parents I knew who had children there. Then when my daughter was about 2 we visited a classroom. Even though she wasn't ready then, I always had my mind set that when she was ready, I wanted her to attend Monroe.

(62b) Mo: Yes, similar process. We visited and talked to people who had sent children there. Other factor that limited our search was the fact that there are very few schools that take children of J's age.

(63) 1. daughter related to in an emotionally, supportive way with a good sense of self

2. cognitive stimulation
3. interest in learning be sustained and maintained
4. basic skills for making a livelihood
5. allow the maintenance of social relationships
6. teachers to do the above with the children

(64) Monroe, in general, has done all of the above very well. Generally when things have gone wrong, things can be worked out with the staff. Monroe has done very well in terms of the values we set for education. Individual teachers have been willing to work out problems with children.

(65) Mo: If the public school were as good or better (than the

private schools), certainly not. We believe in public education.

(66a) 1) sociability

2) capacity to think

3) independence

4) integrity - personal

(66b) Same traits identified above; more competitiveness than she normally has.

(68) Finish college

(72) Whatever will support her life style legitimately. I don't have any specifics.

(73) I don't have specific goals for her. When children become what their parents want to be, they often end up in occupations that they're not happy with. I would give her vocational information to test out what occupations really are like.

(74) Prostitute or dope pusher

## THE MORAL RESPONSE PATTERN

There are two key elements of this response pattern.

1. First, these parents firmly believe that a quality education addresses the spiritual side of a child's development, equally as well as the basics and/or an enriched curriculum. Therefore, a key focus of the child's education is the development of its moral and social character; and
2. Second, the parents prefer a disciplined, ordered learning environment in which children learn to behave in accordance with respected adults' standards and expectations.

## SUMMARY DEFINITION: THE MORAL CHOICE MODEL

Parents who choose private schooling primarily for moral reasons consider ethics and morality to be essential elements of

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a good school's curriculum. Learning the difference between right and wrong, obedience and respectfulness, are as highly valued outcomes for children by the families as is learning the basics of reading, writing, and mathematical computations. Other studies and school activities are considered secondary and/or more appropriate for discussion at home.

Teachers are revered as the ultimate authority in academic as well as social issues. Learning is best accomplished in an ordered and disciplined environment. Parents expect that the child's education will equip him or her with the academic requisites to pursue a higher education. When describing what their career goals are for their child, the parents tend to be very specific about acceptable occupations, such as doctor or lawyer.

One or more of the parents is likely to have attended a parochial school. The school's role is to carry on the cultural moralistic tradition that the parents may have received as children. The school is viewed as the key factor in transmitting the cultural moral history of the family across generations.

CASE 631

Case 631 is from another, predominantly black, nation. Although the interviewee (father) is not high on religious practice, he reports that he and his family of origin are high on the contribution of a religious-based education to the moral and social development of children.

(41) He was 5'4" tall and he liked to whip students if they didn't do homework or assignments. He tried to help you get an

education for your future.

(42) Whipping... We would do exercises (and) write lines.

(44) I'd go to a different school. I didn't like the school because of the forced religious services. If you don't go, you get punished.

(52) Because I (father) was raised in private school, so I enrolled my children. I'm used to it. My parents were born Catholics. I like it.

(53) Father

(54) If you go to school and don't do assignments in (my country), you get spankings. Over here, they don't. The teachers are the same.

(55) The difference is the teachers have them part time (to) teach them. They don't stay with the children all the time. I as a father live with them. I educate them before they go out to school.

(56) From the children, from T.V.. From mother... I think they are all right.

(61b) It was a neighborhood school and private. They don't have to take a bus. It is Catholic.

(62b) To give her a good start. It was close, only one block from my home.

(63) Must have respect for an individual person regardless... They must have different education of special skills to qualify for doing work such as a nurse.

(64) I feel St. August is a private school where kids are not too many to learn. She's learning respect. Kids will copy if too many (children in the classroom)... teacher wouldn't know,

simply because there are too many.

(65) Yes, I want a Catholic education for her.

(66a) 1) respect
 2) care for people (be social conscious)
 3) artistic qualities
 4) to be a nurse

(66b) She needs something like due respect and the ability to contact and communicate and approach anybody. (Earlier in her life), whenever she decided to go out, she was not able to do this.

(68) College, afterwards University

(72) Nurse or doctor

(73) I feel she has to help people to live by being a doctor or nurse.

(74) Not making use of her education

CASE 732

(41) He teaches good... He explains very well... He does not get mad. Sometimes, he takes us to picnics or to games after school and on weekends.

(42) Tell children to be quiet while teacher explain. Everything had to be neat... books and clothes... (The child) has to sit politely and listen.

(44) Nothing... It was good...

(52) None

(53) Both equally, because Catholic school is good. Everything is good... They know about religion... Everyone is polite... Many things important about St. August school. At (St. August),

they worry about students who don't speak English. They teach them after school.

(54) It is a little different. In my country, we studied our language. Here we have to change to English. To speak both language is good. When she speaks English very well, she will learn French or Spanish too. Teachers are the same... same lessons. But difference is the language.

(55) Not too much difference. Almost the same... they teach you good things (i.e., how to be good). If parents want their sons to be good... If children want to be good, go to school and listen to teachers... When children come home, listen to parents but teacher is better (because) teachers know everything and spend more time than parents. Teacher is important. They talk to them everyday... Parents don't know about books, geography, math...

(56) From the school... (at) St. August they sent letter to us about what is going on. I think it is good because different families go there.

(61b) We like them (the children) to study at (the) church, to learn religion and (how) to be good. Everything is good... teaching religion... But lessons are same as public schools... never tried another school... I knew the school because I went (there) to the church.

(62b) Not applicable

(63) Math, geography... Everything is important. Religion. Teacher has to teach language (English) first... have to explain very well, speak slowly. People from (interviewee's country) speak slow. (Teachers should) teach a small amount very well, go

slowly, wait until they understand English...

(64) I think St. August school teaches English well. (It) is (an) ideal school. In my country, church schools teach very well. (In order to for) Somebody to be (a) boss, or in the government (there, you have to) go to school at church. But I don't know about (the) United States. Everything is polite and good at (the) church school.

(65) Don't know... we live close to church. So (I) send her to (the) church school. If we live too far, we would send her to public school because we don't have time and transportation. For me and my family, it is good to live near church.

(66a) I don't know...

1) to be good woman
2) good student
3) polite, neat, and everything
4) help somebody (poor people) in the future

(66b) To be good in everything. But I don't know what will happen in the future. Everyday, I tell my kid, listen to teacher and parent, to be good; don't play too much. To be a boss, supervisor... many things (are involved)... If you want to be a nun, sister, o.k. Don't play around on the street (and) don't smoke.

(68) Finish college

(72) Nun or nurse

(73) I like those (professions).

(74) Seamstress, factory worker... too hard work... can't take the hard work...

CASE 309

Case 309 does not directly focus on the child's spiritual development. However, the parent clearly wants a disciplined, ordered learning environment, and expresses concern that children in the school attended are being allowed to "mature" too rapidly. There are several references to how a religious-based education would be preferable to the one the child currently receives. The parent, however, is very unusual in that the child does not currently attend a school reflective of the family's first choice in terms of educational philosophy.

(41) Don't know - kind - can't think of...

(42) With a ruler... the wrath of God

(44) My shyness...

(52) None.

(53) Mother

(54) Less discipline... Teacher's younger - less mature... Books same - working in laboratories earlier (now)... Expect you (parents) to be more involved in fund raising... His (i.e., the child's) experience so much different - composition of pupils changed...

(55) Teacher to teach, parent to make sure (child) does homework... overlapping roles...

(56) Talk to neighbors... Some schools O.K., some aren't... Some teach children, some don't

(61b) Process of elimination - too late for Catholic school - only one left was Oak Lawn, close to home - wasn't going to public school.

(62b) Default, yes (and) convenience (to home)...

(63) Learn how to read and write decent composition... No social needs (except) get along with others in class...

(64) Doesn't compare at all... (The children are) not learning discipline... Too much socializing.. Pushed to soon to become adults... learning things we learned in high school... (they are) socially pushed together too much, at things like dances...

(65) Maybe. Why spend money if another school is just as good - also (he) should be getting Catholic education.

(66a) 1) manners, behavior

2) honesty

3) getting along with other children

4) smarts

(66b) Read and write... Get along with other people.

(68) College

(72) Whatever he wants - engineer, I guess...

(73) For one, seems to be where he's most inclined... second - what our business involves

(74) Public school teacher - they're the pits - what can I say - not enough money I guess - his (the child's) tastes (are) too expensive, (he) needs a good job.

## THE PRACTICAL RESPONSE PATTERN

There are five key elements of this response pattern.

1. First, these parents expect teachers to be nurturing, and thus demonstrate concern for the academic and social-emotional needs of the child;
2. Second, these parents are especially sensitive to any signs of rejection or indifference on the part of school faculty or staff toward themselves or their children; such behavior is intolerable;
3. Third, the parents look to the school for support of their own learning and parenting; they highly respect the expertise and advise of school personnel;
4. Fourth, the parents believe that the "good parent" provides the best education affordable education for the child; and
5. Fifth, the parents believe the goal of education is to prepare oneself for a respectable job in society; schools have the ultimate authority in this preparatory process.

### SUMMARY DEFINITION: THE PRACTICAL CHOICE MODEL

Of utmost importance to those parents who exemplify the practical choice model is that the teacher must demonstrate care and concern for the academic and emotional needs of the child. Often based on their own reported past and/or present experiences and observations, unfairness, insolence and rudeness by the school to themselves or their children is intolerable. In a world that these parents frequently perceive of as violent and unstable, the school serves as a sanctuary where the child can be safe and thus learn in a protected environment. Therefore, school climate is very important to these parents, and they respond loyally and warmly to a climate which they feel is caring, supportive and respectful of their child and themselves.

These parents look to the school for support of their own learning and parenting. They respect the advice and expertise of the school personnel on all educational matters as they may not necessarily be knowledgeable as to how children learn and develop.

In the view of these parents, good parents are those individuals who try to provide the best education they can possibly afford for their child. Consequently, it is not unusual to find that many of these parents are making considerable personal sacrifices to send their children to private school.

Finally, these parents while maintaining that education is very important firmly believe that the primary aim of education is to prepare oneself for a respectable job.

CASE 622

(41) Mrs. M., she was 6 - 7th grade teacher. She was a doll! She really took time and explained to girls about their bodies. We were starting to develop. She took girls to the side and talked to just the girls and told us the "do's and don't's." My mother was always afraid to do it so that was how I learned about personal hygiene.

(42) They sent us to the principal. We stayed after school.

(44) Nothing at W. (school) I'm glad I had the experiences I had growing up. It taught me a lot. It made me a better person; made me learn streetwise as much as bookwise how to cope with people.

(52) It was not his decision. He wanted her to go to public school. There's only one in this district. It's very rough. I wouldn't go there as rough as I (i.e. the mother) am, alone.

(53) Mother

(54) They take more time and deal with each child individually, not as a bunch. If they notice a problem a child is having, they'll pull him to the side and work with him. They don't just go on to the next subject and say, "He'll catch it when he catches it."... It's like a family... That's what I love about St. August. When S. first started in kindergarten, I had a fear if she would get to... after school. I didn't get off until 7:00 at night. The 2nd graders take one child each and get them on the right bus.

(55) The difference is the teachers have them all day long to study with them, but the parents should be there to be sure they do this homework and studying to keep up with what the teacher has done in the day's work.

(56) I go to them... I really wanted S. to go to M. (public school), but it was not in our district. Not negative to all public schools. (Re: Two other public schools) - Not too impressed. There's not one window not broken in that school - everything is boarded up. The principal is scared of the children. They run him.

(61b) It was chosen because on of my friends told me about St. August one day in the grocery store. I told her that I had started calling the Board of Education to see why M. school was out of the district. S. had to pass six taverns and bums on the street get to G. (a public school). I would keep her out a year if I had to. I told her (i.e., the friend) of my distress. She told me to call St. August. It was right by my house. I didn't know it existed. It was hidden. I was pleased. When I walked into the school and saw how the kids were walking the halls and behaving, I said, "Oh yes! I would pay a million dollars if it takes it to get her into a good school."

(62b) I was looking at kids going to the beach one summer (my mother was keeping her). I inquired about the children as they went to the beach. The lady with them told me they were from the... She gave me the name and address and told me to try and look into it if I was a working parent. I got her into it. She started in 3 days. I started telling everybody else I knew about (the preschool).

(63) Reading and math are a must in this society today. This was not so with us coming up. I'm learning to read with my child now. That's just how bad my reading was when I graduated.

(64) ... Teachers and the integration... They take time with each child. They're not looking at color. They take each child and teach him. If slow in reading or math, they will take you out of the regular program. S. was very good in math but slow in reading, like her mother. They put her in a special program where she stayed 2 hours a day until they brought her up to her reading level. (Mother added that this school meets the goals of her "ideal" school).

(65) Yes: You get your money worth. When free, it's not as well-qualified. When paying, you get just what you want them to have. They will not keep your child in a private school if

they're not meeting the criteria they want them to have. They'll tell you you're wasting your money.

(66a) 1) make a young lady out of her; she's so rough.

2) develop her art. She loves to draw.

3) develop her acting ability - she can act.

4) give her responsibility - She is in 3rd grade now. It's her time to help with the kindergarteners.

(66b) To know common sense and a little book learning doesn't hurt; but common sense is the main thing we need in this world.

(68) Finish medical school. (She wants to be a doctor.)

(72) I'd like for her to be a stewardess. She wants to be a doctor.

(73) It's so glamorous; You get a chance to see a lot of things you can't afford to see if you had to pay for it yourself.

(74) Domestic house work. You go too far (i.e. if you stay in school and graduate) to do this.

CASE 635

(41) Best teacher was a nun who treated everybody very nice equally - never, "You people." Never derogatory. She was only one who didn't offend. She quit after a while and became a social worker. The other nuns would come into the room and say, "This room smells like S-H-I-T." We would look around and wonder if we really smelled.

(42) They would pull our lips, slap our faces, hit us in the back, hit us with rulers, make us mop hall floor or wash the windows. Most of the time, it was hitting us.

(44) The racial insults. This feeling that you were really stupid and couldn't learn, this feeling that there was something

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wrong with you and it wasn't... Yes, curriculum fine... just those insults.

(52) His own experience which was traditional. (attending Catholic school)

(53) Both equally.

(54) It's well rounded. Teachers are more like a family. You really know them. Not standoffish. They're open. L. enjoys them. Children are not unhappy - they feel good about going to school and interacting with their teachers. Makes me feel more secure and confident that they feel good about going. Learning more about other cultures. The teachers call whenever they have a problem. We have their home phone numbers, if we have to call them at home. That's rare...

(55) Teacher shouldn't be as much as disciplinarian as parent. Main job is to teach reading and writing and to teach child to function, not be illiterate. Parents' job is to see that child goes and pays attention to the teacher.

(56) I call the Board of Education. I call Archdiocese if I'm dissatisfied. I read, find out myself, attend PTA meetings... Schools are rotten, except for Catholic schools. K. went to (name of a public school), couldn't read a bit.

(61b) Well, I went to church at St. August. I knew some parents of a child who went to St. August. They kept telling me what a wonderful school it was. I talked to Sister... and enrolled K. K. started in kindergarten.

(62b) My husband took her up here. When we moved over here he had heard about the Day Care Center and he was the one who went up there and checked it out and enrolled her. Then it was my job to take her.

(63) It has to be socially good. Being able to read and social activities, interacting. That's a well rounded education for me that I figure is best for her.

(64) It is exactly what my ideals are about giving children a well rounded education. It's like a little family; that school entirely different even from the Catholic School I used to go to in grade school because you feel comfortable all the time, with no hangups. It's exactly the way I want her childhood education to be because I think that's the most important... The education you get as a child. It affects you more when you grow up.

(65) Oh yes. I'm sure that the money I'm paying, that she is being taught. Her reading and her math skills and I know when she comes home, she's got a brand new book instead of a 10 or 15 year old one. I know that they care about... They're concerned about her because I'm paying them. If I wasn't paying, they probably wouldn't care as much.

(66a) "Four? Some other quality than she already has?"

1) Confidence in herself... (the only one named by mother)

2) ---

3) ---

4) ---

(66b) How to communicate on an effective basis with other people. Not so much as bookwise but mostly commonsense and down to earth day to day living. That's what she needs to know.

(68) Get her M.A., Ph.D. if possible. She says she wants to be

a teacher.

(72) It's not so much as what I want, but what her main goals are. She wants to be a teacher and dancer so that's what I've been pushing her for. If that's what she wants to do then that's what I support.

(73) They like to put on dance shows, so I buy records for her. She likes to read certain books and know about certain things so I buy them for her.

(74) Probably - a prostitute (laugh). Probably if she becomes a "professional bum" not being constructive. It doesn't really matter what type of occupation she has as long as it's constructive and being a part of society.

**THE TRADITIONAL RESPONSE PATTERN**

There are five key elements of this response pattern.

1. First, these parents believe firmly in the importance of a high quality college preparatory learning environment, beginning as early as elementary school, if not before;

2. Second, the parents believe that the best education is in private schooling because such schools provide the necessary exposure to an enriched curriculum. One or both family members often have a prior history of private school attendance, and the options considered for the child were usually limited to the pool of available private schools;

3. Third, the parents emphasize the importance of competent, knowledgeable teachers to the educational process, however;

4. Fourth, these parents also have a strong belief in their child's intellectual potential; they place considerable emphasis

on training the child to be an effective competitor; and

5. Fifth, these parents emphasize that the social reputation of the child's peers is very important; peers' families should share similar educational and social values.

SUMMARY DEFINITION: THE TRADITIONAL CHOICE MODEL

Parents who exemplify the traditional choice model are committed to a belief that the best training for the high achievement goals they have for their children is found in private schools. They want their children to be inspired to work hard, to compete successfully, and to excel. They look to an enriched college preparatory curriculum, and the reputation of a rigorous learning environment to develop these child attributes. The school should provide the child with a strong foundation in the basic skills, but should also prepare the child, through an enriched curriculum, to assume a leadership position in the existing society.

In contrast to other parents' views, in the views of these parents, teachers per se are not perceived of as having special status; they are expected to be competent and knowledgeable of their subject matter so that they can contribute significantly to the development of the child's inherent intellectual potential. Almost as important as teachers, is the school social environment. After school peer group contacts are encouraged among schoolmates, and many parents may go to elaborate to ensure that their children interact with socially acceptable peers. Parents are especially sensitive to what other (perceived) like-minded parents do with, or provide for, their children. Comments such as "Everybody sends their child to private school in this area..." are not uncommon. It is likely that one or both parents attended a private elite school, and therefore, private education per se is a social symbol, a symbol of familial prestige. These parents believe that the good school provides the socially appropriate "lens" through which children, by observation and by actual experimentation, learn about the good life and the best that this civilization offers. Therefore, the good school conserves the essential values of family and home, as these parents understand them.

CASE 021

(41) Mr. M., talked a lot. He was curious about our personal lives -- our family, what was going at our homes. We always said he very nosey. Sometimes he would ask personal questions and we wondered if it was out of taste. He felt very comfortable with us.

(42) They were spanked -- the boys. I don't remember girls being spanked. Sitting in the corner.

(44) I am not sure it was a good school. I think I have skills that many children in public schools today don't have in spite of the fact that I went to school so many years ago as far as writing, speaking, math, and that kind of thing. I would make it a better school -- prepare those students better for life.

(52) I think he (father) feels he got a good education but he felt that it could have been better. Feeling that he could afford it, he wanted to send G. to a private school such as Roman so he wouldn't be taking a chance. He feels more certain that he would be receiving a better education.

(53) Father. Having gone through medical school, he sees the competition getting greater. He feels the need and necessity more...

(54) More sophisticated, knowledgeable, intelligent, more open. Perhaps the teachers are smarter. Between my teachers and the Roman teachers, (the Roman) are smarter, better educated. Even though we had the basics, I think they go through it more thoroughly and in more detail. They have more materials to work with. They not only read the story at the Roman School, but they also give them comprehension checks. I know we didn't do that. You read a story. I have a strong feeling I'm not sure whether they understood it or not. At the Roman they stress comprehension more. When I was in school, parents felt that the school educated you and they didn't have much of a role. They perhaps felt that they were not capable of teaching you. They felt the teacher was the only person who could do that. They had better math.

(55) Parent must start at birth. Parents must play a very important role with seeing to it that they are getting their homework, checking it, that kind of thing. The school should introduce your child to the material, explain it, see it to that they understand it. Overlapping roles in some ways. Simply because I can't introduce him to the material, but I should explain things too, see to it that he does it, encourage him. They (teachers) should do the same.

(56) Talking to friends and they are talking about their children. I really don't hear much about them because everybody in this area sends their kids to a church school or private

schools.

(61b) We applied at P., L., the Roman School, and Oak Lawn (N.B.: All private schools). He got in at P. and the Roman School. My husband and I felt that the Roman School was more of a college preparatory school-- more structured.

(62b) No, we just wanted to put him with children at that time. We heard that the Montessori used a structured program with things...

(63) Material must include the basics, reading, writing and arithmetic and approached into thoroughly, especially reading comprehension has to be stressed. Writing, expressing himself, and science. In the younger grades, I prefer females (teachers). Children who come from homes where the parents are concerned about their education are the kind of children I want him to attend school with.

(64) It has most of the qualities I like. I would like for it to have more black kids there and possibly more black teachers.

(65) Yes... Unless the public schools in the country improve I feel since we can afford it and he has the intellect I think I would like to see him get the best education possible. And right now I think it's in the private schools.

(66a) 1) confidence in himself
2) honesty
3) aggressive
4) happy

(66b) A good education, good health, and faith in himself.

(68) He says he wants to be a surgeon.

(72) I want him to be happy with whatever he's happy with

choosing.

(73) What he does best and he wants to be and to be good at it.

(74) Male nurse

CASE 314

(41) Single, young - middle-age. She was very creative, artistic and interesting.

(42) (They would) comment on students behavior in front of class. Call students parents, threaten.

(44) Not much individualization. Make the work more challenging... seemed like loss was directed towards the average student.

(52) ... He was dissatisfied with public school. Not individualizing enough - not challenging.

(53) Both equally...

(54) Teaching is individualized. They group children more, materials are at different levels (more varied).

(55) Teacher has more structure. Parent's role is more informal. Parents don't do much teaching formally. The school seems to assume more responsibility for discipline.

(56) ... word of mouth... pretty average.

(61b) We wanted a good school nearby. Some of my faculty members recommended Oak Lawn. I contacted the principal...

(62b) (did not attend a day care center)

(63) Challenging peers - (other intellectual kids) Competition... teachers would have to set high goals for kids... Teach them how to critically think.

(64) Oak Lawn has kids that have discipline problems. The

teachers themselves have come from less than prestigious schools. No support from Oak Lawn to promote extra educational opportunities. (In the "ideal" school), ideal students should be selected on intellectual capacity... shouldn't have any discipline problems. They take up time away from other students.

(65) Maybe... It would depend upon the area in which we lived in.

(66a) 1) written composition skills

2) drive... (set herself some high goals)...

3) to have the ability to compete with the rest and be prepared to attend a top quality college

4) to be a critical thinker, reasoning, thinking

(66b) We don't want her to get by; we want her to excel... Challenge from other students. She also has to have learned now to work with people.

(68) To college - graduate

(72) Medicine or law... we don't want her in education. Education is such a dead issue.

(73) Poor selection of jobs - also low salary.

(74) Waitress - secretary... no pay... physically hard work...

**CASE 012**

Case 012 is an example of a less clearcut Traditional characterization. The mother expresses a desire for her child's happiness, as well as occupational success. The full record also revealed a history of social deprivation in the father's background which the mother perceived the father wished to overcome, and ensure that his child never experiences. In addition, the focus on the child's own talents and intellect is considerably more understated than in previous examples. However, it is clear from the interviewee that the parents want a college preparatory school environment, believe the best American education is available in private schools, very specifically outline the nature and importance of good competent teaching, and stress the importance of school peers whose families have like-minded educational values. Finally, the interviewee says, very pointedly, that the choice of the child's school was influenced by the "prestige" that such attendance would have on the child's future academic transcripts. Therefore, the social reputation of the school was very important in this family's decision-making. On balance, the interviewee shared more in common with the Traditional group, than either the Humanistic or Authoritative groups. Further, the interviewee was the mother, not the father, and as such, the Deliberate response pattern was not as applicable because she does not stress personal educational and social deprivation.

(41) Mrs. H. because she spent time talking to us about life and growing up. She was top teacher who was well-versed in English. She was very knowledgeable about all the subject and fair. She had a good sense of humor. She could be forceful when necessary. She was very creative. Her projects made you think and use whatever ingenuity you had.

(42) Physical -- corporal punishment sanctioned by the parents. Standing, writing lines, going to the principal's office. Boys were the ones who got the beating.

(44) I would try to be a little more controlled and not break

into tears when I wasn't the best. I didn't know why I was so sensitive. The teachers were very presumptuous. The teachers never knew why I was crying, yet they made assumptions which I didn't like. The teachers never asked me why I cried...

(52) Nothing in his childhood. That was a late decision (to send our daughter to a private school). The decision to send our daughter to a private school happened when we were in... When we came to Chicago and looked at the system we felt that there was no was a kid who was bright would make it through the system without being stifled.

(53) Father. To be honest, I think it's prestige. He talks very much about what is on the transcript. I feel he's right. If she were in a public school system like the one she was in... the grades and the school would stand (rate highly). Then she would be right up there with the kids from private schools here.

(54) Let me compare the private schools with the public schools. Many of the teachers themselves in black schools are not qualified themselves in terms of their preparation. I've seen teachers who have difficulty with spelling. I teach teachers who can not write a decent paragraph. This is also true of nonblack teachers. The teachers in public school (today) are not getting the kind of preparation my teachers got. I am not sure the interest is there either. Education seems to be a kind of catch-all, you go there (into education colleges) when you want to get a liberal arts degree. The specialization is not there. Much material to work with (although I don't know that the teachers are making full use of them. It's very much quality material. The material in the old days was of inferior quality. There's

nothing (from the old days) to compare with what the kids have today. Parent's role hasn't changed. What the parents are doing with their role is what has changed. We (the parents) have always needed to be involved. No school can do it all for your kids...

(55) The teacher's job is the introduction. The parent's job is the reinforcement.

(56) For Roman School, it's the newsletter, the kids' daily comments, parents' meetings and talking to other parents. For other schools, from the radio and the media. I don't really know of any in this neighborhood...

(61b) We studied those schools -- P., Roman, and L. (N.B.: All private schools). We interviewed people who attended; we looked at people who had gone to those schools...

(62b) She attended everything from a church sponsored school, to a coop where I had to be involved actively, to a full day (school). Then she went with me when I taught at... University. She attended the daycare center. We interviewed, we took her there, we talked to teachers, we let her play with the kids and watched the teachers in action.

(63) 1) strong academics

2) allow reasonable social outlet

3) stimulate thinking -- make them responsible for their own education.

4) allow them to make... own decisions -- allowing her to do an assignment or not to do. Letting it be her decision.

(64) The Roman School fulfills those (elements of a quality

education). I studied the social atmosphere and the school spirit is missing that was there when I was in school. Not the team spirit. When there's a game, the team may or may not have an audience. The interpersonal relationships are very healthy there...

(65) No... I always believed in the public schools. I know at a private school you are more likely to get one type of student. More or less an elitist type of education. At a good public school you would get more diversity and that's really what I like. I want her to get the good academics and I'll make up for deficiencies in the social area.

(66a) 1) independent thinking

2) boundless in regards to creativity -- unstifled

3) feel free to be different

4) learn for the sake of learning

(66b) Self-confidence, a belief that all she has to do is apply herself. With application she can do anything she wants to do.

(68) All the way, a doctorate. I don't see a Ph.D. as part of her plans right now. She's more into modeling and dancing -- being very creative.

(72) In the theater... She'll go for a choral line or star in something. She's very good, very confident with that (the performing arts).

(73) Consistent in her interests. She has always been involved in performing arts. She enjoys attending plays, dance concerts.

(74) Nothing menial. She's too bright for that. She would get very easily bored with that (menial work).

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Each of the six response patterns has been described in its most unambiguous form. However, parents varied in the intensity and thoroughness with which they reported and rationalized their views. In particular, judges classified parents as essentially Traditional who simply stressed a strong basic and enriched academic program, without focusing as intently, upon the reputational status of the school and/or the families of the other students who attended. In a larger study, this category might become big enough to be independently differentiated. The communalities across interviews have been discussed. Finally, judges had the verbatim tapes of this section of the interview to refer to whenever the interview proctocol left them in doubt of the most viable classification.

The distinction made throughout between the key elements of the response pattern on the one hand, and the choice of a private school on the other, is important. The response patterns may be generalizable to public school parents, insofar as the patterns reflect differing educational ideologies. However, in this sample, these ideologies are used to rationalize the specific choice of private schooling. The key descriptive elements implicate private schools per se only in the Traditional response pattern, and this pattern contains the most mixed group of responses. A substantial majority of parents, black and nonblack, reported that given their perceptions of the poor quality of American public schools today, they believe their family had little choice but to opt for private schooling.

Almost none organized their beliefs around specific opposition to the idea of public schools per se.

Finally, judges found a few instances in which the two caregivers in a family held distinctly different educational ideologies. If there was no clear deferral of one parent to the other, for purposes of this study, the views of the actual interviewee were given priority in the classification.

# Appendix B: Conducting Fieldwork in Multi-Racial, Multi-Ethnic, Urban Private Elementary Schools

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# Conducting Fieldwork in Multiracial, Multiethnic Urban Private Schools

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## Introduction

Spindler and Spindler (1983) contend some of the best ethnographies have been conducted in American schools, but ignore some aspects of American culture. We believe with Ogbu (1974) that perceptions of race relations are important in American culture.

Ogbu (1981) arguing for a multilevel approach to school ethnography, has reviewed some of the varied approaches to participant observation in schools. He emphasizes that microethnography, that is detailed study of face-to-face verbal and nonverbal interaction between classroom teacher and pupil, is limited in its applicability to study of minority school achievement because it neglects the broader school-community context in which attitudes about schooling originate. Ogbu points out that social and historical forces, including the nature and processes of societal stratification (e.g., race, class) enter into individual normative behavioral transactions in all settings (i.e., home, classroom, playground, etc.) where teaching and learning occur. Minority education has to be understood within the broader cultural-ecological context of school-community relations. He comments:

> "School ethnography should be holistic; it should show how education is linked with the economy, the political system, local social structure, and the belief system of the people served by the schools (p. 6)... families and their children often utilize adaptive strategies in dealing with schools, which can only be adequately understood or appreciated if the ethnographer looks at linkages between schooling and the larger sociolcultural systems (p. 14) ..."

years. Second, though under no legal mandate to desegregate, many urban private schools have begun to systematically recruit black pupils. Even where recruitment is not systematic, urban private schools openly acknowledge accepting greater numbers of black pupils than in previous years. The trends provide an excellent opportunity for careful study of family-school relations, because both families and schools could reasonably be expected to be very self-conscious of their educational goals.

Why are the black parents choosing this educational option? What are their educational goals for their children? What are they implicitly or explicitly prepared to sacrifice to achieve these goals? And what of the admitting schools? What are their educational philosophies? How are the philosophies realized in the lives of the black pupils who matriculate in these schools? What are the school cultures in which these children are socialized? Finally, what are the educational outcomes for these pupils, particularly in the areas of school achievement and self concept development? The study primarily addresses two broad research questions: First, why do black parents send their children to urban private elementary schools, and second, what are the experiences of the children in these schools?

Our approach to study of these questions combined hypothesis-testing with deliberate exploration. Data collection techniques included the use of open-ended and informal interviews, narrative observations of students in participating schools, and tests and inventories administered by teachers to children. Data were obtained from school records and publications. Our aim has been to achieve a holistic understanding of the socialization contxts in which the children were studying and learning, and therefore,

(b) the implications of who they are for how they studied and interpreted their ongoing observations of black children's school life in four very different, though representative, desegregated urban private elementary schools.

## The Social Roles of the School Ethnographers

The school ethnographers were (a) a developmental child psychologist who is Black American, (b) an educator who is Jewish American, (c) an anthropologist who is Korean-born, and (d) an educational psychologist who is Black American. All were middle class females. All but one had families with children ranging from ages 2 to 13. Two were currently completing their doctoral theses, one at the University of Chicago, and the other at Northwestern University. The two co-principal investigators are faculty members at Northwestern University, one of whom is tenured. The educational psychologist had been a student of the one investigator (developmental psychologist) when she taught at Chicago, while the anthropologist was currently a student of the other (educator) at Northwestern. All had conducted observations in classrooms, but only the educator had taught elementary school children. Given the diversity of the ethnographers' backgrounds, each brought her own biases to this study relative to (a) disciplinary work style, (b) concept of education, (c) views of race and class in American culture, and (d) perceptions of the educational and developmental needs of children, particularly black children. Each ethnographer also brought a particular set of assets and constraints to this composite observer team. Ethnographers had to develop a shared perspective, but also understand enough of one another's differences to interpret each other's findings within be racially polarized should such a study be conducted. Further, while the administrator at a second school supported the study, indeed invited the school's inclusion though it has less than 10 percent black enrollment, in a group meeting attended by a black teacher, the greatest reservations were expressed by that teacher, along lines similar to those of the first school's administrators relative to specific emphasis on black children. However, this school had one other quasi-administrative black faculty member with minority recruitment responsibilities; this faculty member supported the study. At the third school, in an evening meeting with representative parents, teachers, and key administrators, support came from the administrator and one black parent (previously known by one investigator) who had been very active and responsible toward the school over a number of years. The investigators were queried in depth, one investigator reported experiencing it as an inquisition, as to why focus on black children? What would be the definition of "black"? and so on. This school has a 50 percent black population. One teacher simply sat, and smirked, almost giggled, at the entire idea throughout the meeting. In the fourth school, a sectarian school, the investigators were openly accepted by the lone administrator who interviewed. However, prior to the actual visitation to this school, the co-investigators had been discouraged from including it, this time by administrative officials who thought the study should use a predominantly black secretarian school, despite the investigators' expressed wish to study racially desegregated schools. The sectarian school included in this study has a 37 percent black population.

Several conclusions can be drawn from these experiences. First, access to the schools was not gained because schools knew and trusted the investigators

> absent among researchers who measure the effects of school desegregation. This is a loss, for their contribution might well involve asking more relevant questions about the desegregation process and about its effect on students' racial identification, militancy, and political self-consciousness."
> (St. John, 1974, p. 7)

In 1983, the biracial co-investigator research team had to struggle to maintain the integrity of a research design which would focus upon black children attending academically respected desegregated schools. The struggle ensued because the primary focus of the study was to be an in-depth study of their daily lives and experiences in the settings, to the exclusion of other children, except insofar as those other children were observed to enter into and participate in their lives.

Access was gained to each school for different reasons. First, the co-investigators did compromise on all public assessments to include black and nonblack children and parents. The master sample included black families of children in grades K-8, and the families of nonblack children nominated by teachers as friendly to the black children. Therefore, when parents were contacted, black and nonblack families were contacted. School assessments were routinely made so as to include all 5-8th graders. We camouflaged, as much as possible, the focus on black students for the schools' benefit. Second, the school with the lowest percentage of black students was concerned about minority recruitment; the study could help to improve its image in this respect. Other schools may have been impressed that support was received from this particular school. For example, a supportive parent at one was given to individual assets and liabilities. Each ethnographer had other major work responsibilities, such that the effort would be part-time. Travel distance and time involved were factors for those with children, especially young children. More important, however, would be the personal fit; how could each ethnographer be placed so as to maximize the possibility of early acceptance by school children and faculty in a relatively short-term fieldwork project? Decisions were based upon past familiarity and understanding of the kind of community embraced by each school.

One investigator had lived and worked in the highly "intellectualized" community that the other experienced as an "inquisition," though she no longer did. The other investigator personally lived the cosmopolitan upper-middle class life style represented by a second school, though not in this particular urban school's community. Still another observer was the only one to live very near the community of the third school; of the four, her life style most closely approximated that of the school's families, black and nonblack, in that it was solidly middle-class and very family-oriented. The fourth observer, who was Korean and foreign-born, went to the school which most openly embraced culturally different students, and which had a great number of Asians in its student population. Finally, of the two black ethnographers, it was clear that the one who participated in the rather frank and candid negotiations should not, if possible, be the one to followup the day-to-day fieldwork at the school most openly resistive to the idea of the study. Thus, throughout this phase of the study, we examined ourselves as we decided how to best deploy the fieldwork efforts.

How successful was the observational team? Each of the four team members and at lunch; most had little to say with the exception of a few students who were particularly friendly...students approached me most on the days that I was observing their grade. When they saw me on other days, they usually only said hello...(A) number of students asked (at first) why I was at O. 'Are you going to send your children here?'; 'my mother said you were probably just visiting or a student teacher'...They seemed satisfied with my standard answer that I was there to see what O. was like..."

Pointing to greater comfort with the subtleties of O. in the second 10-day observation period, the observer reports:

"Several students had indicated to me that the sixth grade male teacher was very different in class when any observer was present, including colleagues..."

However, these team-imposed limitations on other than informal, fleeting contacts with black students, given the school policies to restrict in-depth focus on black children, were particularly frustrating to the Korean-born anthropologist. She comments at the end of the fieldwork:

"What I learned about blacks was in fact more emotional than scientific. I learned to love them. Before, blacks were just others who were at the bottom of social ladders to me. Now I love their friendliness and their frankness about their emotions. More and more I found similarities between Blacks and Asians...I wished the project included formal interviews with children. From my own project (with Asian American school children) I learned that children know about their own life more than any other people, including their parents. Their viewpoints were often different from those of their parents... Even at the end of (the) observation, I did not schools. In this context, observers jointly developed a 30-plus page detailed work plan, or Field Manual, which fit the needs of the study for the 83-84 academic year when the formal school observations were conducted. During these meetings, in particular, and in those held over the course of the 83-84 observational year, individual biases became apparent.

There were biases which equalized relationships and bonded team members together. Team members had a mutual respect based upon prior relationships among some dyads. They shared a common concern about the children and their futures, including their own children and families. They valued research and academic, scholarly work. They were interested in, and valued, social diversity while at the same time respectful of their own cultural backgrounds and heritages.

However, there were also biases which pulled team members apart, the primary focus of this paper. Three broad conceptions impacted how ethnographers worked as a team to collect information about black children's lives in school: (a) the ethnographer's disciplinary work style; (b) her biases about education; and (c) her understanding of race and class as stratification factors in American society.

### The Influence of Academic Discipline.

Observers learned they had different biases about observational work. The anthropologist was unaccustomed to the public viewing of highly idiosyncratic research notes; in addition, as a foreigner, she raised concerns about language and communications:

> "My approach to this project was totally different from that to my own project...(there) I was responsible only to myself...I did not have to transcribe my field notes so carefully because nobody was

benefited all. (For example, in the summer of 1983 the team viewed and discussed classroom instructional tapes. Later, one psychologist obtained additional consultation about standard middle school curriculum content). In hindsight, the educator pointed out that her prior research with larger samples had seemed too simplistic because she knew from several years of teaching that the context was too often missing in such studies. She had regarded ethnographic work as something to: "...try for myself, see what it was all about (in that it could) give something to push against the 'hard data.'"

Perceptions of Education.

Observers held different views of the elements in education most central to black children's schooling. Black observers tended to emphasize the contribution of teachers and good teaching, as well as attention to the child's social identity development as central to the educational process. Nonblack observers tended to emphasize teaching but also parental involvement and support for school achievement. Although all observers believed in the importance of the family to the children's in-school lives, black observers tended to focus upon whether and how the schools accepted the children's unique cultural backgrounds, and the consequences for their racial self concepts. Nonblack observers emphasized how each school established and maintained a sense of family and community within their own boundaries such that the children and their parents came to feel they do or do not belong to it.

Aside from racial and ethnic background differences, these percepts were surely influenced by disciplinary background since both black observers were child psychologists, while both nonblack observers, as an anthropologist and educator, had more background in making holistic assessments of school

> cope with whatever situation."

In contrast, one of the black observers commented:

> "...the children's cultures were rarely mentioned in the classroom, nor were they considered in other school activites...I began to question how the children identified themselves culturally. Among the black students, few struck me as children who identified themselves as black...This comment applies to children of other cultural backgrounds as well. (However), it should not be inferred from these comments that the school is...fully responsible for the cultural identity of the students. The parents' criteria for selecting the school must be considered... it seemed that the issue of cultural identity takes a back seat to the parents' concern for academic excellence..."

She continued to discuss the idea of "parental socialization for integration" defined as assimilation.

Observers found that their personal views on how racial stratification affected black children and families ranged from a consideration of cultural traits that are suppressed and/or cultivated in a "quasi-colonial" context, to indigenous cultural preferences or coping strategies which stress bicultural adaptations. In practice, the orientations led to different emphases: The former to an emphasis on how and why black children differed behaviorally from other children in the school, the latter to how and why, in these school contexts, they were similar to other children. In effect, for a holistic portrait of the children's lives, both perspectives will have to be carefully analyzed and integrated. It is worth noting that in the two

## Conclusion

A multiracial, multiethnic observer team has greatly benefitted the study "Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools." This unique form of "four-fold triangulation" caused early tentative hypotheses and interpretations to be subjected to far greater scrutiny than they would otherwise have been had ethnographers independently observed and interpreted. Over a longer time period, any one observer might well have come to some of the study's ultimate conclusions. However, the many subtleties of the actors in these desegregated schools would not have been captured, and certainly not within the 9-month time frame in which the school observations actually were conducted.

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# FIELD OBSERVATION MANUAL

An observational plan for conducting
observations of focal black children,
their teachers and peers in middle school settings

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(Revised Final Version)

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## I. Purposes of the Newcomer Study Field Observations

The school-based observations to which this Manual serves as a guide were conducted in the context of research which examined two major questions: (a) Why do black families living in urban metropolitan areas choose to enroll their children in private schools in the 1980s and (b) What are the educational experiences of black students in different types of private elementary schools?

One developmental researcher (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) argued for study of the impact of contexts on childhood growth and development. Studies of children that consider context have more immediate applicability to public policy. Further, these contexts are the natural settings in which childhood growth and development actually occur, and in which specific behaviors of children assume real meaning. In field observations we attempted to describe the socialization of black students in four different private school settings. We wanted to understand how black students participated in the schools their parents had chosen. Particular emphasis was on: student academic achievement as an outgrowth of school goals, organization and management, and style of student participation and involvement in the classroom. Emphasis was also given to the black students' peer relations and to school support for positive racial identity development. An earlier review of black educational history and related educational research indicated these to be the central concerns pertaining to excellence in black education.

## II. Rationale: Understanding the Multidimensional lives of Children at School

Investigators who have conducted extensive field work emphasize the importance of entry into the setting. Because the participant observer's role is undefined, the observer must continually teach, through verbal and nonverbal behaviors, about the observational work. The observer must also attempt to learn the norms and expectations of the social settings to establish a basis for being considered a member of the group. This activity requires both genuine humility and a modicum of self-confidence that the research, the researcher, are worthwhile. As reciprocal, friendly relations are gradually established, people will learn to behave in a way that is informative to the researcher's identified questions. The researcher cannot be totally dispassionate and "objective," but must share as a person with people in the setting (e.g., Becker and Geer, 1957; Denzin, 1978; Wax and Wax, 1980).

In addition to these general field work principles, there are special issues associated with entering the worlds of children. Because we wanted to understand what life is like in these schools for the children, two articles by Geer (1964) and Corsaro (1980) were especially pertinent. Corsaro reports that to reach the preschool children he studied, he began by building rapport with their caregivers, namely parents and teachers; he attempted to personally involve caregivers in his research by carefully explaining its purpose and direction, and by letting them know that their inputs were valued.

Prior to direct work with children's groups Corsaro learned what groups were formed spontaneously by children in the setting, when and where, in contrast to what adults do. He learned the children's names as quickly as possible. He later made himself available to peer-dominated areas, and waited for children to react to him. With children, Corsaro acted like a child, and not at all like adults would typically behave (i.e., be nurturant, authoritative, directive, and so on). He ignored most of the children's negative behaviors, permitting other adults in the setting to perform their usual supervisory roles. He tried to learn to play like the children played.

Corsaro offered evidence for the children's eventual acceptance of him as "one of the group." First, aware of his size, they eventually nicknamed him "Big Bill." Second, soon questions directed to him took the form of questions children usually asked of one another rather than of adults (e.g., whether he had sisters or brothers). Third, the children told their parents and teachers to include him among those to receive gifts, invitations, etc., for peer group activities and events. In our opinion, this is an exemplary model of how to approach the phenomenological realities of young children in preschools.

Geer (1964) discussed her fears and anxieties associated with beginning a study of college freshmen. She wondered how she as an adult could identify with the "immature" concerns of these youth. She found that she was able to overcome this imagined hiatus by responding to their expressed feelings and behaviors with, at first self-consciously, the same affect and posture that they assumed.

Like the Becker and Geer (1957) study, field work in our schools was dictated by the "routine" of the students. We identified and pursued issues crucial to the black students in particular; we entered and terminated activities when they did. We observed in classrooms, but also in playgrounds and gymnasiusm. We attended pertinent assemblies and special programs, including some field trips. We also spent time in student lunchrooms and the teachers' lounge, informally talking with students and staff at every opportunity. Each of these specific activities focused upon understanding what the life of black students is like in these schools.

## III. History of Development of the Field Observation Plan

### A. Research Question

Our approach to field observations developed when we began in November, 1982 to think more specifically about how to achieve the second major research goal of the study: to describe the educational experiences of black students in different types of private elementary schools.

### B. Chronological Development of the Field work Plan

In this study, four major sources of data contribute to the ethnographic field work: (a) structured interviews with administrators, teachers, parents, and parent leaders, (b) informal talks with, and observations of, persons in the school while functioning primarily as an observer of children (to be made part of the field worker's ongoing daily log/diary), (c) available school documents which are public, such as flyers, curriculum materials, etc., and (d) the semi-structured field observations of the children's activities and experiences. First, all four sources of data, as well as other documents (e.g., media releases, university-school correspondence, etc.) must be considered to produce an ethnography of the children's school experiences in the four study schools. Second, we tried to monitor our approach as a team of four independent field workers who collect the fourth major source of data - observations of children inside and outside of classrooms in each of the four schools.

Our overall approach to field work in the schools evolved from (a) a consultation with experienced ethnographers who had conducted independent work in schools, and (b) a preference for working collaboratively, within a common conceptual framework, to add greater validity to findings and interpretations. We attempted to integrate some of the major strengths of independent ethnographic work (e.g., broader attention to context, the subjective experiences of the observer, and the opportunity to develop and refine emergent constructs as the research proceeds), with that of field work in which more attention is given to standardization of methods and procedures across observers and settings. Our method of collecting the fourth major source of data is thus optimally viewed as a unique synthesis of information obtained from reviewing (a) both sociological/anthropological and (b) psychological approaches to field observations in schools, with special attention to (c) educational research literature about the lives of middle school children. We were additionally influenced by discussion of our mutual experiences, as co-investigators, between November, 1982 - August, 1983.

1. November, 1983 - June, 1983: Pre-pilot consultations

Our study officially began January 1, 1983, but we began preliminary work on the field observation plan in November, 1982 when we decided to make a consultation visit to the School of Education at the University of Wisconsin - Madison. Several Wisconsin faculty had conducted extensive field observations in schools using ethnographic methods (Metz, 1978, 1982; Popkewitz, 1983; Spindler, 1982). We were able to speak with them about their work and our research goals and plans.

During this phase of the research, the consultants encouraged us and provided very valuable information. What we learned may be best summarized under (a) procedural and (b) substantive categories.

a. Procedural We were advised to plan for the equivalent of 1/2 day of recording for every school day of observation. Dictation is a means of reducing recording time, but could hinder recall, by contrast to writing. We were advised to separate our interpretations from the text, and to provide at least two copies of every narration. We were also advised to keep an ongoing, daily personal log of our experiential roles as observers. We were advised of the importance of giving enough time to the field work to become familiar with recurring behavioral patterns and events, an important criterion of validity in ethnographic work. Other criteria for a minimally good ethnography of schooling were discussed. We learned that quantitative data are not necessarily antithetical to good ethnographies. Formally structured as well as informal interviews can be important supplements to direct observations if these interviews focus on participants' understanding of their social settings.

Teamwork was also stressed. We were advised, particularly since there were to be four field observers, to meet together regularly during field work, to share and discuss individual narratives, and to work toward a commonly agreed upon focus for the study, and for our roles and tasks as observers.

b. Substantive All consultants indicated that we would have to consider the social meanings of race and class in the context of a study of black children's schooling experiences. Several pointed out that schools have historically existing values and norms which are frequently idealized, but that the issue is what happens daily in the context of school life where real people serve, and are served. Therefore, we were encouraged to consider schooling as a socialization context in which all children learn about human social life in settings beyond their immediate families, as well as specific academic skills. The works of Cohen (1980), Schofield (1982), and Bossert (1982), in particular, were pointed out, as well as a forthcoming article in the Annual Review of Anthropology by Spindler. We were further encouraged in our original intent to extend the contexts of observations of children beyond the formal classroom.

During this time we chose, and negotiated individual entry into, the four preferred schools. Each school enjoyed a reputation for delivery of high quality education to the student population it served, and each included sufficient numbers of black students for the purposes of the overall study. Most school staff stressed two points in particular: first, try to avoid appearing obviously biased to black children, and second, conduct observations very unobtrusively. Field observers should not assume in-school roles such as, for example, "teacher's aide." We began preparations for field work with full acceptance of these two conditions in May, 1983.

2. July - August 1983: Pilot Work

Pilot observational field work was conducted in July and August, 1983. The pilot work led to a series of decision rules for conducting the formal field work. The following discussion traces the rationale for each of these rules and links the rules to the methods and procedures used.

a. Narrowing the Context

As Philip Jackson (1968) reports in Life in classrooms, classrooms and schools are very busy places where a series of complex interactions occur simultaneously. It is therefore impossible for a single observer with or without video equipment to accurately record the multiplicity of events and relationships that occur in classrooms. To make the task of school observations more manageable, a focus and structure had to be formulated for conducting field work. The first task was to winnow the focus of the school observations.

The primary purpose of the field work was to describe how the school experiences of black children impacted their academic achievement, school participation, and identity development. Such experiences contribute to the child's overall self concept development. While we assumed that experiences impacting black achievement, feelings of inclusion, and racial identity development were likely pervasive to all aspects of school life, there would be some situational contexts where the major experiences of the children would affect one aspect of self concept rather than another.

For example, we could expect that the experiences a child has in classrooms when academic activities are occurring are more likely to affect a child's academic achievement, and therefore, its self concept of ability. The experiences the child has at recess, lunch, gym, and field trips are more likely to impact on peer esteem or the feeling that it belongs to a valued peer group that also values it. Similarly, the experiences a child has in assemblies, other schoolwide special events, and student-led groups, for example, are more likely to affect his or her personal pride at belonging to an identifiable corporate entity, that is, his or her "school." Finally, during special events which may be celebrated only in classrooms or schoolwide, the child may experience opportunities to have its positive sense of ethnic heritage or racial identity reinforced (e.g., Martin Luther King's birthday or Black History month). Obviously, any discrete activity or event may have multiple significance for an individual child. However, our interpretations of each school's culture would be from the perspective of these three themes: academic life, informal peer relations, and opportunities for black cultural enrichment.

b. Summer 1983 Pilot Work

During July and August the observational research team, Diana Slaughter, Barbara Schneider, Yongsook Lee, and Rachel Washington Lindsey, undertook several activities to standardize low inference descriptive field note techniques.

On July 8, after receiving permission from the Evanston Public School District 39 superintendent, the co-investigators visited a summer school program for middle grade students being conducted at a Middle School.

This summer program was open to all fifth through eighth grade students in the district. Enrichment classes were offered in reading and mathematics. The student population attending the program included a variety of racial and ethnic groups.

Co-investigators observed in two heterogeneously grouped math classes. The math classes were selected because the number of students in the classes and the type of activities being conducted in the classroom closely resembled a typical mathematics class.

Once in the classroom, co-investigators realized that the first task would be to devise a scheme whereby the observer could record the activities and interactions of students while maintaining each student's anonymity. As a result Seating Chart Form A was designed. It was also decided that directional arrows would be used with the seating chart numbers to signify the source and persons involved in interactions. These procedures would be used in addition to other low-inference descriptors in the next observational period.

On July 11, the four observers went to the same school. A flip of the coin determined that Barbara and Rachel would observe in one class and Diana and Yongsook the other. The following week the teams would switch.

Again the observers recorded in two math classes, and followed the procedures established in the first observational period. Each of the observers were instructed to write up their notes to be shared the following day. In sharing these notes several new recording procedures were established. It was decided that one set of notes would be transcribed and used as a standard.

On July 22, the observers again visited the same pilot school. The teams switched classes and recorded events as agreed upon earlier. These observational notes were shared and critiqued by the co-principal investigators.

So that the team would have experiences observing in out-of-classroom activities, it was decided that the observers would accompany the math classes on an all-school field trip to the aquarium, planetarium, and beach. On July 28, the team met the school buses at the beach. This observation lasted from about 9:30 until 11:45 a.m. We found that the procedures established for classroom observations would have to be revised for out-of-classroom activities. Further, the identification of focal children was critical for understanding how students participated in the activity. Finally, it became obvious that writing notes during these activities was obtrusive and clumsy. A more practical tool would be to use microcassettes to record events. To try this procedure, it was decided to conduct another pilot.

In August, the co-principal investigators contacted a local private school which operates a private day camp during the summer. On August 11, the team went to this school to observe 9-11-year-old boys and girls at lunch, on the playground, and during swimming lessons. Two black focal children, a boy and a girl, were identified prior to the observation period. The observers relied on microcassettes and written field notes to collect data. Using this data, observers prepared a transcript. Critiques of these transcripts revealed that one of the major discrepancies among the transcripts concerned the descriptions of swimming instruction (level of detail, evaluative judgments of quality). To further refine the team's ability to observe the quality of instruction, it was decided to view several videotapes of exemplar instruction in middle school classrooms. Videotapes subsequently were obtained from the National College of Education.

### 3. Selection of Focal Students

Three schools submitted a list of all the black students in grades K-8 in spring, 1983 (One, Elite 2, submitted only for grades 4-7). The school secretary at each school identified whether the children were "new" to school, having arrived during the last two years, or "continuing," having been at the school at least since third grade. Each observer reviewed a school list different from the school that she was to observe.

The responsible observational team member selected seven new black students and seven continuing black students currently in grades 4-7 at each school, balancing as much as possible for pupil grade level and sex. At Monroe and St. August, two of the 14 focal children were in grade 4. A total 56 focal children were chosen across the four schools. We realized that once observations began developments, such as a child becoming ill or transferring in or out of the school, could cause changes in the original lists. Therefore, the observer had the flexibility to substitute focal children found important to the school culture, but not on the original list. For example, there may be a black student in the class who was not chosen, but who is later found to be captain of his basketball team, and a straight "A" student at a school highly valuing athletic and academic excellence. Such a child could, at the observer's discretion, replace another on the original list.

## C. Observation Methods

### 1. Role of the Observer in Each of the Four Schools

The contexts in which children participate in schools vary greatly in the extent to which they are structured by adults. A mathematics lesson is far more structured than a field trip, which is in turn usually more structured than recess. However, within a particular school, the organization and management of classrooms is very dependent upon the faculty's interpretation of its educational goals. Therefore, how students participate in the classroom learning environment is dependent upon the instructional strategies embraced by the particular school's culture. This is particularly true of middle school, as contrasted with earlier grades because the curriculum itself can be more diversified. Other non-classroom school activities, while initially structured by adults, offer still greater opportunities for diversity because student innovation is more tolerated. Each school, for example, dictates the timing and location of recess, but children have different options in different schools as to what they can do during this time. Even within classrooms, students have different options in some schools than others, as far as when they can talk to one another, the kind of talk permitted, how much shared work is permitted, and so on.

There are several studies which make comparisons among more or less effective schools (see chapter 4). Rutter (1983) reports that "Successful schools (differ)...from unsuccessful schools by their consistent and appropriate emphasis on academic matters and by the fact that this attitude is accompanied by specific actions designed to translate expectations into practice" (p. 21). Recognizing the important relationship between school goals and student success, field observations focused on how academic goals were operationalized in classrooms. We expected that even among successful schools, there would be considerable variation in how schools achieved their academic aims.

a. Academic Achievement: School Goals, Organization and Management, Participation

1. Goals

Each administrator of the four schools stated emphatically that the school wanted to create and sustain an environment that would encourage and develop academic excellence in all the students. However, the approach for doing this varied greatly between the four schools. As observers we tried to describe how this goal was operationalized in the schools' classes. It was assumed that different environments could impact differently, but positively, on a child's motivation for academic achievement and self concept of ability. As a team, the observer's first obligation was to describe the four different academic environments in which the black children participated.

The classroom observations included several components which describe how the schools' achievement goals were translated by faculty to students. One way to observe how the teacher translates school goals is to identify the performance standards set for various academic activities. What is considered essential to the academic curriculum; what is more peripheral? Are the same standards of performance set for all students for all activities?

How are different students encouraged to meet the standards? The observer paid particular attention to what and how academic performance standards were conveyed to black students, in comparison with their nonblack peers.

Our observation timetable included three intensive periods of field work over the school year. The difficulty with observing on a periodic basis rather than every day, is that one obtains a view of that classroom at that time period rather than throughout the year. Although we could not observe every day in the classroom throughout the school year, there were ways to determine how representative observations were of typical classroom activities. For example, each observer attempted to obtain each teacher's long range academic goals for the students through informal discussions. The observer also tried to obtain any pertinent documents such as curriculum guides or lesson plans. Finally, the observer tried to obtain the teacher's lesson plans for one week prior to the observation period and one week after the observation period had ended.

### 2. Organization and Management

Teachers may embrace the school's academic goals, but organize and manage the learning environment in ways that make it impossible for some children to appreciate it. One such organizational management technique that impacts on student performance is the amount of time spent on the subject matter of the learning activity or lesson. Another is the amount of orientation given to students about the purposes of the activity, frequently an important control strategy as far as children's behaviors are concerned. Observers recorded how learning activities were structured, and how time was allocated for them. In addition, observers recorded instances of specific discipline, praise and other feedback for academic-related behavior. Special attention was given to how the black students understood their assignments, as well as how persistently they engaged in them, and the type of feedback they received.

More generally, observers tried to identify classroom rules as these emerged in teacher-student interactions, for example, if students could leave their seats without teacher permission. The observer also tried to describe classroom routines such as how students asked for help with their assignments, how materials were distributed, and what students were expected to do when they completed an assignment. Observers recorded how students were selected for special jobs such as teacher helpers, as well as how teachers handled unexpected interruptions and routine transitions from one learning activity to another. The observer tried to differentiate behaviors considered by the teacher to be appropriate and inappropriate in the classroom and recorded the sanctions imposed on individual students or classes who deviated from the accepted behavioral norms. Throughout, the observer carefully assessed how uniformly the teacher imposed sanctions among the students, and how the focal black children, in particular, responded to the classroom management style.

### 3. Participation

How teacher and students actively participate in the learning reflects upon the characteristic educational style of the school. Various studies of effective teaching have indicated that students are more likely to learn when they are actively involved (Gage, 1978; Bloom, 1976; Rosenshine, 1976; Good, Biddle, & Brophy, 1975). For example, the teacher may increase involvement by assigning interesting and worthwhile tasks, monitoring student assignments, giving a maximal amount of feedback and/or giving all students an equal opportunity to answer questions. We assumed the patterns of student involvement could vary between schools. Therefore, observers recorded how teachers introduced, monitored, and evaluated the assignments during class discussions. The observer tried to record interactions between the teachers and students and among the students themselves, including when and how students participated in discussions, and whether or not participation was voluntary. Attention was given to how black children, in comparison with other children, participated in the assignments and discussions.

b. Social Relations

The relationships children had with their peers (and other adults) outside of the classroom provided yet another source of information about the norms and values of the school culture. In order to more fully understand how black children are accepted into the culture of the school and socialized into the norms and values it upholds, it is equally important to observe out-of-classroom situations. These socialization experiences are likely to be highlighted in less adult-dominated events such as during lunch, recess, and physical education activities. During lunch when observing which students tend to sit together and interact with one another, the observer described the social patterns that existed among the student body. In focusing on the students the observer recorded the nature of the activities, how they shifted or changed, and how black students participated. For example, if students can choose lunch companions, with whom do they sit? Do the black students sit and eat only with other black children? Recess, physical education activities and special school events provided other opportunities to observe informal peer social patterns.

The observers often ate lunch with the students. However, she carefully avoided being placed in the role of teacher, or other authority figure, and did not impose any sanctions regarding conduct. During these times, the observer also recorded as much talk between black and other students as possible.

c. Racial Identity

In schools, there are special events such as music assemblies, plays, and school fairs to commemorate holidays or school traditions. Sometimes these events celebrate a national event such as a space ship launching or a well-known national hero such as Columbus Day. Whether and how a school chooses to celebrate these events communicates what is important to each school's culture. Each observer attended as many special assemblies, or other events as possible. The observer determined why the school celebrated the occasion, recorded in detail how the event was celebrated, the numbers of black students participating in the activity as well as how they participated. During Black History month (February), in particular, attention was paid to the nature of school-wide projects, how these projects, if any, were introduced and assigned to students, and hall and classroom decorations.

2. The Task of Observing

The following procedures identify the observer's work plan, including how her notes were to be constructed.

a. Equipment

Before entering the field each observer had (1) one clipboard,

(2) one spiral notebook, (3) pens and pencils, (4) one microcassette tape recorder, batteries, and microcassettes, (5) seating chart and classroom schedule of teachers, including room assignments of students, and (6) a wristwatch.

b. Introduction to the Classroom Observations

The first time in a classroom, the observer (1) introduced herself to the teacher, (2) clarified the purposes of the observation, (3) indicated that she preferred not to talk with either teacher or students during the observation period, (4) learned what the students would be studying for the duration of the observation period and (5) located herself as inconspicuously in the classroom as possible, usually to the side near the back to maximize complete classroom visibility.

c. Recording Time

Within each 10-day observation period each observer spent a minimum of two days in each of grades 5 through 8. At two schools (Oak Lawn, Roman) there was more than one fifth-eighth grade class. In these instances the observer spent at least one day per classroom within each observation period. In the two schools (Monroe, St. August) where the grades were combined, the observer concentrated on the activities of one grade for two days, and the other grade for two days. In these two schools, fourth grade classes were observed two days out of every ten.

The observer tried to arrive at the school before it began, typically at either 8:00 or 8:30 a.m. Before the observer entered any classroom, if appropriate, she reviewed the class schedule with the school secretary and then with the teacher. Each observer recorded for a minimum of 3.5 to 4 hours per half day observation period.

The observer recorded all morning lessons; these were typically English, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies. However, Art, Music, Religious, and Library classes were also observed, as well as Foreign Language classes and Physical Education activities. The observer continued to observe through lunch.

In addition to the regular observation periods, the observer attended as many school-wide functions as possible such as special assemblies, open-house events, and fund raising affairs.

The timing of each 10-day period during the academic year was negotiated with each school, as well as the use of that time. Good comparability was achieved between schools, as far as the timing of observations.

d. Format of Observation Notes

1. In-Classroom Observation Format

a. Background Information: Each classroom transcript contained the following background information: (1) name of school; (2) date of observation including day of week; (3) observer's name; (4) basic classroom information including subject matter focus, time of the observation, level of instruction (e.g., advanced group, honors class, students' grade level); (5) teacher including physical description; (6) initial instructional strategy (e.g., individualized, total class, small group); (7) materials used by students and teacher.

b. Narrative Description of the Physical Context: The transcript contained the following narrative description of the setting: (1) time of arrival to the classroom, (2) time at which the classroom observation began, (3) location of classroom, (4) brief description of the physical layout of the classroom as well as a sketch of the room which was drawn as close to scale as possible and (5) any other commentary which helped to portray the setting.

### c. Classroom Field Notes

#### 1. Time

Once inside the classroom the observer synchronized the time. She checked to be sure her watch and the classroom clock were anychronized. If there was a discrepancy, the observer was to align her time with that visible to students and the teacher.

In the spiral notebook, time was recorded in the left margin. It was recommended that each page in the notebook be folded in half prior to going to the field so that the left side could be used for recording specific information, and right side for the observer's interpretations.

If appropriate, the observer recorded when students began to enter the class, and the time when almost all students were seated. From that time forward, 15-minute intervals were noted, as well as the time of any specially significant incident.

At each 15-minute interval (beginning when the overwhelming majority of the students had been seated), a tally of the number of students working at the assigned task(s) was recorded.

#### 2. Recording Symbols

Before students were seated the observer recorded teacher commentary and any significant student interactions. Once the students were seated, if appropriate, the observer used the seating chart (Form A) to record the sex and race of each student in the classroom:

X = Girl; Y = Boy; B = Black; N - Nonblack

Once a student had a seat number, the field notes referred to the student by number only (Form A could not be used in Monroe, which had more open classrooms. Rather, at periodic intervals the seating arrangements had to be redrawn.). The observer designated whether the nonblack students were Hispanic or Asian. If unable to make a racial or ethnic determination, the observer could ask the teacher after the classroom observation was over.

The observer designated the Teacher as T. TA = Teacher Aide; ST = Student Teacher; P = Parent Volunteer; SubT = Substitute Teacher. The observer also identified, by role and function, any other adults present (AV = Any Volunteer).

The observer used arrows to indicate who initiated contact, both verbal and physical (e.g., 29 ⟶ 27 = student at desk 29 contacts one at 27). Further, the observer tried to record the stylistic character of the contact(s) throughout the narrative (e.g., smiling, laughing, whispering, tapping, kicking, hitting, pushing, etc.). In the final narrative, parentheses were used to (a) clarify the object of contact or interaction, and (b) designate observer's summary interpretations throughout the protocol.

### 3. Priorities for Classroom Focus

The classroom is primarily an academic work setting. However, student behavior and self-esteem were affected by both academic and nonacademic interactions with other peers and adults. This assumption helped to focus observational recording. Once focal children were identified among the student body in the classroom, particular attention was given to interactions they had, according to the following recording priorities:

a. Record as much as possible of all verbatim teacher comments to the entire class; in the beginning, record the apparent classroom organizational strategy and also record relevant changes thereafter;

b. Record as much as possible of all teacher comments to focal children in the study. The seating chart numbers of focal children were to be identified at the end of the observer's narrative;

c. Record as much as possible of all focal child comments to the teacher (and any other adults);

d. Record focal child-child interactions (only one child needed to be "focal" for priority to be established);

e. Record other student-teacher interactions;

f. Record other student-student interactions.

2. Out-of-Classroom Observation Format

These instructions are for those non-classroom observational contexts which are part of the children's lives in school (e.g., lunchroom, free play on the playground, field trips, and assemblies). Background and Narrative Descriptions are only slightly modified to accommodate to the new contexts. However, it was usually impossible to use a seating chart in such settings, and the observer often used the microcassette recorder as inconspicuously as possible.

The observer routinely:

a. Counted the number of children and adults participating in the activity/setting and noted the distribution by sex and racial/ethnic group;

b. Described any subgroup formations, including changes over time. The observer also recorded whether the groups had been formed primarily by student self-selection or adult assignment;

c. Identified an many focal children as possible and noted their activities;

d. Used the microcassette tape recorders unobtrusively to sustain a running 5-minute dialogue at 15-minute intervals to characterize the context according to Background Information and Narrative Description; and

e. Paid particular attention to how the adults structured the experiences for the students, as well as what the focal children did.

Following the out-of-classroom observation, the observer: (a) listened to the taped field notes, and (b) constructed a summary interpretation (2-3) paragraphs) to be added to the end of the transcript.

3. Personal Diary

Each observer also maintained a personal diary to record feelings, hunches, intuitions, etc., in response to any particular observational day. The diary was available only to the co-investigators.

D. Personnel and Training

The study included four private elementary schools. Our field observation plans included one observer per school, focusing primarily on grades 5-8. In the two smallest schools, grade 4 classes were also observed. In addition to the two co-principal investigators, two other field observers had to be chosen and trained. This manual was partly developed for training purposes. We believed that a first step toward observer training for field observations was a thorough understanding of the purposes and rationale for the research. However, we found that two equally important aspects to observer training for the study included: (a) the choice of the field observers, and (b) the strategies used to establish teamwork. Partly because of how we conceptualized the issue of training in this ethnographic study, some of our criteria differed from those traditionally used in observational research.

1. Choosing the right observer

In particular, we stressed the observers as a field work team, whose individual members complemented one another as far as the specific personal and professional experiences they brought to the task of observing. The two common elements shared by all observers were (a) being female, and (b) having prior experience in collecting and analyzing observational data.

We found that a working knowledge of classroom routines and the job of being an elementary school teacher helped us better understand the behaviors of children and their teachers during any given observational period (e.g., being aware of the teacher's weekly lesson plans, texts, and other curriculum materials to be shared and/or used by students). The composite observational team was, however, self-consciously interdisciplinary: a developmental/clinical psychologist, an educator, an educational psychologist, and an educational anthropologist. The latter two team members were chosen because of their observational experiences, and because each co-principal investigator suspected from prior experience with one of them that the person chosen would be compatible as a group team member. Given the diversity of professional backgrounds, if observers worked well together, the entire ethnography would be infused with a richness and depth that no one of us could have singularly produced.

The observational team was also racially and ethnically mixed. Each team member originated from an ethnic or racial group whose cultures have sustained a history of prejudice and discrimination in American society. In a study of how race and ethnicity affect children's daily lives in school, it is important to if possible choose team members who understand through prior personal experience what significance race and ethnicity can have in individuals' lives. We did not seek uniform perspectives; rather, we sought to overcome our differences by common concern about the educational futures of socially and culturally different children.

### 2. Maintaining inter-observer contact

Meetings were held throughout the 83-84 academic year among the four members of the observational team. In the field, the observer worked alone; one purpose of these meetings was for team members to serve as a support group to each other relative to problems encountered during the field work. Another purpose of the meetings was to collectively test preliminary interpretations and hypotheses stemming from experiences in our unique settings. We discussed the varieties of experiences that children had which we thought esteem-building, and which fostered positive racial identity development in schools. We discussed the multifaceted ways in which the black children were included in the daily routines and life of schools. We discussed the schooling experiences the children had which appeared to stimulate motivation for learning and academic achievement. Therefore, each observer in each school was assisted in understanding what had been seen in view of the goals of the study.

A third purpose of the meetings was to interpret obtained data, given earlier interviews with school administrators, teachers, parents, and parent leaders about the goals and expectations of her school for its students, particularly its middle-school population. These interviews, as well as the ongoing observational work, provided a basis for seeking clarifying information while on site as an ethnographer. The field observer collected observational data at one school, but co-investigators attempted to understand that data in view of (a) all information obtained about the school, and (b) similar observations made at the other three schools.

Finally, close contacts were maintained between observers so that we could keep abreast of other research. Each of us accessed the issues raised in the educational literature differently. In meetings we took advantage of our collective wisdom and experience in a variety of ways, including, for example, discussions of field work, and of our own and others' writings.

### E. Reliability and Validity of Field Observations

LeCompte and Goetz (1980, 1982) have discussed problems of internal and external reliability and validity as linked to field work in naturalistic settings. The problems arise because settings change over time, and no two settings are identical. They also arise because field workers bring their own life histories to the setting and, in this type of research, these histories are part of the research process itself. In the description of field work methods and procedures, we have attempted to address some of the problems.

1. External reliability has been addressed in the detailed discussion of the purposes of our study, our preferred field work approach, and the

special problems associated with choosing to enter the subjective worlds of the children. We indicated the preliminary constructs to be used in analysis of narrative field data (academic achievement as an outgrowth of school goals, organization and management; student classroom participation and involvement; student peer relations; and school support for racial identity development), suggesting that refinement of the definitions of these constructs occurred during the study as they were linked to the concrete behaviors and attitudes of participants.

2. Internal reliability has been addressed through our attempt to use low-inference descriptive field note techniques standardized across settings through preliminary pilot work. However, only one field observer was assigned to each school. We shared individual findings while we were in the field and while analyzing data. We also plan to request that members of both our local school advisory committees and our Academic Advisory Committee review preliminary drafts of the findings.

Table C-1 presents another approach to partial solution of the problem associated with internal reliability.

Table C-1

Text Reliability

| | Elite 1 | Catholic | Elite 2 | Alternative |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obs1 | | 1[a] | | 2 |
| Obs2 | 2 | | 1 | |
| Obs3 | | | | |
| Obs4 | | | | |
| Eo[b] | 1 | | | 2 |

---

[a] Numbers correspond to the sequence of visits of particular observer over the schools involved

[b] Disinterested outside expert

Each of the co-principal investigators (Obs1 and Obs2) observed at the others' school for one day. She also observed at the school of the hired project observer for whom she would later assume primary written interpretive responsibilities with available data. The primary aim was to determine how generally comparable the texts were as well as the main points of disagreement or difference in perception between the texts of the two observers. The expert observer fulfilled the above role with each of the two co-principal investigators, and generally helped to set an external standard for the quality of the observational narratives.

3. Internal validity is partically addressed by the minimum of 30 days of observation spent at each school over the 83-84 academic year. The first 10 days were spent in October, as close to the beginning of the school year as possible, the second in December-January, including the transition to the holiday season, and the third in February (Black History Month)-March. At three of the four schools 5 additional half day observations were conducted in April-May. In addition, graduations were attended at each school in late May-June. Between observations an attempt was made to keep pace with significant school developments through informants. A total of 135 half day observations were conducted. Additional days were used to obtain the text reliability information discussed in Table C-1, and to attend eighth grade graduation ceremonies.

4. External validity is partly addressed in the plan to contrast four very different private schools, using similar research methods, and to evaluate the effects of such school organizational variables as size, adult-child ratios, and percent black. However, each school has a unique

history and philosophy. Even with a similar focus in all schools we found great diversity between schools.

## IV. Data Management

We took advantage of the latest advances in computer technology to manage the data.

First, each observer was responsible for producing a narrated script of all observed field experiences according to criteria previously described. The script could be produced in one of two ways, depending upon observer preference: (a) direct dictating from field notes, elaborating, clarifying, where necessary, and interpreting by way of indicated parentheses, using a microcassette tape recorder, or (b) writing out field notes, similarly elaborating, clarifying, and interpreting in a legible form.

Second, the project secretary or assistant typed the script into the KAYPRO II computer using in the first instance a microcassette transcriber, and in the second, the handwritten protocol. At least one printed copy is generated in case of computer "crash," and the remaining file stored electronically.

Third, observer summary interpretations over each five days of observation eventually will also be entered into the computer.

## V. Summary

The development and use of a low-inference observational system to record the experiences of focal black children in their middle schools has been described. In the field, emphasis was upon those educational experiences which could influence children's self concept development. Observers recorded information on how academic achievement was fostered and encouraged by classroom teachers, informal student social relations, especially peer relations, and school support for children's racial identity development. For this study, school observers sought communalities between classrooms and across in-classroom and out-of-classroom settings within a school. However, the interpretive work of the research emphasizes differences between schools. A question important to the ethnographic study is how black students are socialized in the school cultures in which they participate. Comparing and contrasting the findings of the between-school observations gave co-investigators important insights and answers into this question.

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# Appendix D: Parent, Adminstrator, School, and Parent Leader Interviews

# PARENT INTERVIEW

Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools (NIE Research Project)
Diana T. Slaughter, Ph.D. and Barbara L. Schneider, Ph.D.
Northwestern University
School of Education
May 23, 1983

Interviewer Initials ______________________________

Focal School ______________________________

Family Name ______________________________

Focal Child's Name ______________________________

Focal Child's Age ______________________________

Student Code Number ______________________________

Time Period of Interview ______________________________

| l No. | Date | Time | Result of Call | Date Interview Scheduled For | Date Interview Conducted | Date Interview Returned to Office | Date Quality Control on Interview Assessment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

**COMMENTS:** ______________________________

CODE NUMBER ______

PREVIOUS INTERVIEW EXPERIENCE

) Have you ever been interviewed in your home about any of your children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If Yes: When? Why were you interviewed at that time?

(INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE IF THIS MOTHER HAS BEEN A PART OF ANY OTHER RESEARCH STUDY IN THE PAST SEVEN YEARS, AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES.)

CODE NUMBER ________

## . GENERAL INFORMATION ON FAMILY COMPOSITION, OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, INCOME, PHYSICAL HEALTH AND NEIGHBORHOOD.

) Are you the one woman primarily responsible for child's name 's care since his (her) birth? (ASK "ARE YOU THE ONE PERSON..." IF FATHER IS THE RESPONDENT.)

Yes ( ) No ( )

If No: Explain.

) Mrs. ________________, we would like to know who child's name lives with. I am going to ask you for the name (s), sex (es), and age(s) of other adults and children here in your family's household. I am also going to ask you their specific family relation to child's name. If there are other children, I need to know the name of the school they attend, and their grade level.

| | NAME | RELATION TO CHILD | SEX | AGE | (For Children Only: CURRENT SCHOOL ATTENDED AND GRADE LEVEL) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | |

TERVIEWER: CONTINUE ON THE BACK OF THIS SHEET IF NECESSARY/RECORD ANY SPECIAL MILY LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES.

) Mrs. _______, who is the person who helps you most with child care? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE THIS PERSON'S RELATION TO THE CHILD, APPROXIMATE AGE, SEX, HOW MUCH TIME IS GIVEN INDEPENDENT OF THE MOTHER HERSELF, AND WHEN.)

(INTERVIEWER: ASK QUESTION 5 ONLY IF THE MOTHER DOES NOT LIST THE CHILD'S FATHER IN QUESTIONS 3 AND 4.)

5) (a) Do you and child's name have regular contact with his(her) father?

(b) About how often in any given week would you say that he(she) sees his(her) father? (INTERVIEWER: RECORD MOTHER'S VERBATIM STATEMENT.)

(c) Are there any important males in your child's life that he(she) sees more than once a week who do not live in your household?

(INSTRUCTIONS TO THE INTERVIEWER: THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS COULD REFER TO EITHER TWO OR THREE PERSONS. THE FIRST PERSON IS THE CHILD'S MOTHER; THE SECOND PERSON IS THE ONE DESIGNATED BY THE MOTHER IN QUESTION 4 AS GIVING CARE TO THE CHILD (THIS MAY OR MAY NOT BE THE CHILD'S FATHER/MOTHER'S HUSBAND). THE THIRD (OR SECOND) PERSON IS THE MOTHER'S HUSBAND AND/OR THE ADULT MALE IN THE HOUSEHOLD WITH WHOM THE CHILD INTERACTS WHO STANDS IN RELATION TO HIM(HER) AS FATHER. QUESTION 6 IS TO BE ASKED OF THE MOTHER. QUESTION 7 IS TO BE ASKED OF THE SECONDARY CAREGIVER (WHO MAY BE THE CHILD'S FATHER). QUESTION 8 IS TO BE ASKED OF THE ADULT MALE IN THE HOUSEHOLD WHO ASSUMES A ROLE LIKE THAT OF "FATHER" TO THE CHILD. QUESTION 9 IS TO BE ASKED ONLY IF THE CHILD'S NATURAL FATHER IS AN IMPORTANT PERSON IN THE CHILD'S LIFE, BUT DOES NOT LIVE IN THE HOUSEHOLD.

(6) (a) Mrs. __________, what is the highest grade in school that you have completed at the present time?______________________________

(b) What is your current occupation?______________________________

(c) When you work, what kind of work outside the home do you usually do?

______________________________

(d) Did you work outside the home before child's name was born?

CIRCLE ONE: Yes, always Yes, sometimes No, never

If Yes to the above: Was this full or part-time work?

CIRCLE ONE: Full-time (30 hours) Part-time (20-29 hours) Part-time (less than 20 hours)

(e) How would you describe your general health?

CIRCLE ONE: Excellent Average Below average

(7) (a) What about ______________ (name of person designated in Question 4), who helps you care for child's name; what is the highest grade in school that he (she) has completed at the present time?______________________________

(b) What is her(his) current occupation?______________________________

(c) If applicable: When he(she) works, what kind of work outside the home does he(she) usually do?______________________________

(d) How would you describe his(her) general health?

CIRCLE ONE: Excellent Average Below Average

(8) (TO BE ASKED ONLY IF SECONDARY CAREGIVER IN QUESTION 4 IS NOT THE CHILD'S FATHER AND THERE IS AN ADULT MALE IN THE HOUSEHOLD. IF THERE ARE TWO OR MORE SUCH ADULT MALES, PROBE TO DETERMINE WHICH ONE INTERACTS MOST WITH THE CHILD, AND ASK THESE QUESTIONS ABOUT HIM.)

(a) What about ________________(Name of person who fits the above description and who is identified in Question 3 above)? What is the highest grade in school that he has completed at this time?________________

(b) What is his current occupation? ________________________________

(c) When he works, what kind of work outside the home does he usually do?

____________________________________________________________

(d) How would you describe his general health?

CIRCLE ONE: Excellent Average Below Average

(9) (TO BE ASKED OF THE CHILD'S FATHER ONLY IF HE IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE CURRENT HOUSEHOLD IN WHICH THE CHILD LIVES AND MOTHER AND/OR CHILD SEE HIM MORE THAN ONCE A WEEK.)

(a) What about child's name 's father? What is the highest grade in school that he has completed at the present time? ________________________

(b) What is his current occupation? __________________________________

(c) When he works, what kind of work outside the home does(did) he usually do? ______________________________________________________

____________________________________________________________

(d) How would you describe his general health?

CIRCLE ONE: Excellent Average Below Average

(10) (a) Mrs. _________, what would you say is the primary source of your family's income?__________________________________________

(b) What is the next major source of money to your family? ______________

____________________________________________________________

NTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD A TO RESPONDENT AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER DESIGNATE.)

(11) Which letter on this card best estimates the total family income in 1982?

a b c d e f g h i j

(INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD B TO RESPONDENT; CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER.)

12) (a) Which letter on this card best estimates your tuition costs for child's name in the 82-83 year?

a b c d e f g h i j

(b) Do you receive scholarship aid for child's name?

Yes ______ No ______

(c) If applicable:

What about for his (her) brothers and/or sisters?

If yes to 12(b) and/or 12(c):

(d) Explain (e.g., type of scholarship?).

(13) How would you rate child's name's general health?

CIRCLE ONE: Excellent Average Below Average

If rated Below Average: Why is child's name's health "below average"?
What is her (her) problem?

Thank you. Now a bit more detail about your home and community of origin as well as this one.

(14) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood?

________________________________________________

(15) Would you say it was a large city like Chicago; a small city; a small town; or "the country"?

Large city ( ) Small city ( ) Small town ( ) Country( )

(16) Describe your home town where you were raised. (OR) What was Chicago like when you were growing up? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE HOW MOTHER SEES THAT TIME AS SIMILAR TO AND DIFFERENT FROM CHICAGO AS IT IS NOW.)

If applicable:

(17) What year did you come to Chicago? __________________________

(18) Why did you come at that time? (PROBE IF "JOB CHANGE" GIVEN AS REASON FOR WHOSE JOB, MOTHER OR FATHER.)

If applicable:

(19) What of child's name's father? Where did he spend most of his childhood?

________________________________________________

(20) Can you describe what his home town was like?

(21) What year did he come to Chicago? ______________________________

(22) Why did he come at that time?

(23) About how long have you lived at this location? __________________

(24) Why did your family decide to move to this neighborhood?

(25) What are some of the positive benefits you see to your child and family from your residence in this neighborhood?

(26) Do you have any really good friends in this neighborhood that you spend time with who are not close relatives?

Yes, quite a few ( ) Yes, one or two ( ) No, none ( )

If applicable:

About how often in any given week do you get together? ______________

(27) About how often do you attend religious services? Never ( )

Once in a while ( ) About twice a month ( ) Weekly or more ( )

(28) Do you hold any office in your religious community? Yes ( ) No ( )

If Yes: What kind of office?

(29) Do you belong to any local non-school related clubs or neighborhood groups such as the League of Women Voters?______________________________

If Yes: Name them.

(30) Have you ever held, or do you now hold, an office in any non-school club or neighborhood group to which you belong (belonged)?

Yes, more than once ( ) Yes, once ( ) No, never ( )

If Yes: Name it.

CODE NUMBER ______________

## III. FAMILY EDUCATIONAL GOALS

Now, Mrs. ______________, we would like to know about your educational goals for child 's name. Also, we would like to learn about your family's educational experiences. We are interested in how these past experiences have influenced your present educational goals.

(31) Did you have to take a bus to get to the elementary school you went to most of the time?

Yes ( ) Yes, sometimes ( ) No, never ( )

(32) In what city and state was this school located? ______________

(33) Did you ever attend a private school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(34) **If Yes**: During what ages? ______________

5) What did you like about elementary school (grades kindergarten through eight)?

(36) What did you like least of all?

(INTERVIEWER, PLEASE READ THE FOLLOWING TO EACH MOTHER.)

Now I'd like to ask you to think about the school you went to when you were child's name's age.

(37) Did you attend a racially desegregated elementary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(38) Were the teachers partial to boys or girls in your school?

Boys ( ) Girls ( ) Neither boys nor girls ( ) Don't know ( )

(39) Did you have male or female teachers?

Mostly male ( ) Mostly female ( ) Female only ( ) Male only ( )
Don't remember ( )

(40) Did you have White or Black teachers?

Mostly Black ( ) Mostly White ( ) Black only ( ) White only ( )

Don't remember ( )

(41) What was your best teacher like? (INTERVIEWER, PROBE TO FIND REASON FOR THE CHOICE, QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIP RECALLED.)

(42) How did your teachers discipline the classes?

(43) Do you remember any exciting class projects, books or assignments? Describe.

(44) Thinking back to your own school days, what would you most want to change if you could relive them?

(45) Do you remember what your parents hoped you would be when you grew up?

(46a) What did you want to be?

(46b) Those were your goals before. What are your goals now?

(47) Have you achieved your educational goals yet? Why or why not?

(48) What are your educational plans for yourself now?

(49) Overall how satisfied are you with the quality of education you received? (INTERVIEWER READ PROBES BELOW.)

Very satisfied ( ) Fairly satisfied ( ) Satisfied ( )
Not satisfied ( ) Very dissatisfied ( )

(50) If applicable: What about child's name's father? Where did he attend elementary school? ______________________

(51) Did he ever attend a private school?
Yes ( ) No ( )

(52) In your opinion, what experiences, if any, did he have during his elementary or secondary school years that influenced his decision to send child's name to a private school?

(53) Between the two of you, who feels most strongly in favor of private schooling for child's name and why?

Father ( ) Mother ( ) Both equally ( ) Don't know ( )

(54) What is different about the schooling children you know receive now, by comparison to when you went to elementary school? (PROBE FOR DIFFERENCES, IF RELEVANT, IN TEACHER BEHAVIOR, MATERIALS AVAILABLE, PARENT'S ROLE, PUPIL COMPOSITION, ETC.)

(55) What do you think the difference is between the teacher's job and the parent's job, as far as helping children to learn? (PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER MOTHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE AND DISTINCT.)

(56) Where do you get most of your information about schools? What do you think of the schools in your neighborhood?

(57) Do you have contact with any of the neighborhood public schools now?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(58) If yes: Explain why (e.g., another sibling attends public school).

(59) Did child's name attend any other elementary schools before this one?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: If no, GO TO QUESTION 61b.)

60) If Yes: Could you please tell me the kinds of schools child's name went to, and where they were located? (PROBE FOR COMPARISON BETWEEN THIS SCHOOL AND OTHERS; NOTE IF OTHERS WERE PUBLIC OR PRIVATE.)

61a) If Yes to Question 59: What led to your family's decision to find a new school for child's name?

61b) How did you choose this school for child's name? Describe the process.

(62a) Did your child go to a day care center or nursery school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If applicable:

(62b) Did you go through a similar process when selecting day care and/or a preschool (nursery) for child's name? Describe.

(63) At this time, what is your idea of the essential elements of a quality education for your child? (PROBE FOR SOCIALIZATION ELEMENTS IN PARTICULAR - PREFERRED TEACHERS, STUDENT COMPOSITION, etc.)

(64) How is this view of education reflected in your family's decision to send child's name to a private school? Specifically, how does the school your child attends compare with your "ideal school"?

(65) If your family lived elsewhere, would you still prefer to send child's name to private school? Why or why not?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Maybe ( ) Don't Know ( )

(66a) Identify and list at least four qualities you and your family would like to see developed in your child as a result of the education he(she) is receiving.

1)

2)

3)

4)

(66b) In general, what do you feel your child needs to know in order to get along in this world?

(67) Next school year, by comparison to his(her) classmates, do you expect child's name to be: (INTERVIEWER, CIRCLE ONE LETTER BELOW.)

a. a poor student

b. a fair student

c. an average student

d. a good student

e. an excellent student

f. don't know

(68) How far in school would you like to see child's name go?

(69) What do you think he (she) will need in order to get this far?

(70) How far do you think child's name will actually go in school?

(71) What is the least amount of schooling that you think he/she must have?

(72) What occupation do you want child's name to have when he/she finishes school?

(73) Why?

(74) What type of occupation would you be most dissatisfied with?

## IV. PARENT PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL

Mrs. __________, the purpose of the following questions is to enable us to understand the different ways in which parents may formally and informally participate in child's name's school?

(75) First, are you now, or have you ever been, a regular, salaried member of the school's faculty or staff?

Yes, currently ________ Yes, formerly ________ No, never ________

(INTERVIEWER: If no, SKIP TO QUESTION 79.)

If yes:

(76) Describe your job.

(77) From the perspective of being a school parent, what are (were) the advantages of your position?

(78) Disadvantages?

(79) Describe your experiences as a parent leading up to child's name official enrollment in the school. What were your experiences during initial interviews and contacts?

30). Since child's name's admission, if he (she) and your family have come to feel part of this school community, describe how this happened. (INTERVIEWER: IF CHILD AND/OR FAMILY DOES NOT FEEL PART OF SCHOOL COMMUNITY, PROBE FOR REASONS. BE SURE TO ASK ABOUT SCHOOL'S ORIENTATION PROCEDURES IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT MENTION THEM.)

31) Did you observe in child's name's elementary school prior to his (her) enrollment? Why or why not?

Yes ( ) No ( )

32) Have you observed in his(her) class since enrollment? Why or why not?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Are there standing groups or committees in the school with which parents are encouraged to participate? For example:

33) Board of Trustees (Board of Directors)? Yes ( ) No ( )

34) Parent Council or Parent Advisory Group to Headmaster and/or Board?

Yes ( ) No ( )

35) PTA or equivalent? Yes ( ) No ( )

36) Task-oriented subcommittees/groups? Yes ( ) No ( )

37) Other ______________________________________________

(88) How does one become a member?

(89) How does one become an officer?

(90) Have your (or your husband) ever been a member of any of these standing groups?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(91) Officer? Yes ( ) No ( )
(IF no to QUESTIONS 90 AND 91, SKIP TO QUESTION 94.)
(IF YES TO BEING A MEMBER OR OFFICER: INTERVIEWER LIST THE GROUPS BELOW, INCLUDING OFFICE HELD, ETC.)

(92) As a member of ________________, what did you do?

(93) As an officer of ____________, what did you accomplish?

4) Do you personally know any of the current officers of any of these standing groups or committees? Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

5) Did you help any of them to be nominated and/or elected? Yes ( ) No (

6) If Yes: Describe your efforts.

7) Does your school involve parents in the selection of faculty or administrators?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

8) If Yes: Have your served as a parent representative on any faculty or staff search committees? Yes ( ) No ( )

9) If Yes: Describe your service.

100) In many schools like this one, parents do volunteer work. Do parents of your child's school do volunteer work?

Yes, always _______ Yes, sometimes _________ No _____________

101) Have you done volunteer work, either in school or at home?

Yes, each year, including this one ____________ Yes in past years _______
No, never __________
(If no or yes, in past years, but not now: SKIP TO QUESTION 110.)
If Yes:

102) About how many days did you volunteer this 82-83 school year? _________

103) About what percentage of your volunteer time is given in your home (e.g., calling other parents from your home, holding meetings at your home), by comparison to outside your home (e.g., at school, volunteer site, etc.)?

104) On average, how many days per year have you volunteered work to this school in years previous to the present one? ______________________________

105) In what capacities have you worked? What specifically do(did) you do?

How did you become involved in the work? (INTERVIEWER, CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.)

(106) Self-nominated ____________ Parent-nominated ____________
School-nominated ____________ Child-nominated ____________

(107) Describe one instance of self-nomination.

(108) Describe one instance of parent-nomination.

(109) Describe one instance of school-nomination.

(110) How does your current life style limit, if it does, your volunteer time?

(111) Do you attempt to compensate in other ways (e.g., donations)? How?

(112) About how many special events in which your child(ren) participated did you attend this past 82-83 year?

None ___ 1-2 ____ 3-4 ____ 5-7 ____ 7 or more ____

If 1-2 or more:

(113) Describe 1-2 of them that were particularly gratifying to you. (Event, role of child, reason(s) for satisfaction).

(114) Considering the work of yourself (and your husband), have you ever shared this work with the school (e.g., speak to students on career day, provide students with summer work)?

Yes, several times _______ Yes, once _________ No, never ___________

If Yes:

(115) What did you do, and how did it turn out?

(116) Considering participation in standing committees, volunteer time, and attendance at special events, etc., but not parent-teacher conferences, about how many days did you visit the school this past 82-83 academic year? ___________

(117) About what percentage of child's name 's tuition, beyond the tuition itself, do you contribute as a gift donation to the school?

If applicable:

(118) Does this percentage apply equally to each of the other children?

(119) Beyond tuition and fees, what other types of expenditures have you made for child's name in this 82-83 school year? List for September through June.

(120) How many parent-teacher conferences about your child's school progress did you have this past year?

None _____ 1-2 _____ 3-4 _____ 5 or more _____

If 1-2 or more:

(121) Did anyone (e.g., child's father) besides you ever attend these conferences? How often?

(122) Describe other specific ways you depend upon to get information about your child's progress in school. When do you usually get this feedback and who gives it?

INTERVIEWER: Inquire about the following feedback mechanisms even if not mentioned above.

Here is a list. (INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD C TO RESPONDENT.)

(123) Which three of the following do you rely upon most to give you some idea of child's name 's academic progress? Please rank the top three in order of first to third preference.

a. _____ samples of schoolwork (e.g., graded papers brought home)

b. _____ grade cards

c. _____ individual letters

d. _____ phone calls to/from teachers

e. _____ results of achievement testing

f. _____ classroom observation

g. _____ child reports (informal)

h. _____ individual face-to-face parent-teacher (headmaster) conferences

i. _____ grade level meetings

(124) Do you feel there is a sense of community or "school spirit" within your child's school? Why or why not?

(125) What are the informal opportunities for parents and teachers to interact socially during the school year?

(126) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in child's name 's school? (INTERVIEWER READ PROBES.)

Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )

Don't know ( ) Not close ( )

(127) Would you say that parents in child's name 's school:

a. spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting, etc.?

b. spend some time?

c. spend little time?

d. spend no time?

e. don't know.

(128) What about yourself? Do you think that by comparison to other parents in child's name 's school, you:

a. spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting, etc.?

b. spend some time?

c. spend little time?

d. spend no time?

e. don't know

(129) If you had more time to spend toward enhancing the school's sense of community, what would you most like to do?

(130) Given your involvement with child's name 's school, please briefly tell me what you know about the origin and purpose(s) of the school?

131) What one thing have you been most surprised to learn about child's name 's school since his(her) enrollment?

(132) What one thing, in particular, fits right in with the expectations you had of this school, even before child's name became a student?

## V. CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION IN SCHOOL

Now, Mrs. ______________, we will focus more specifically on child's name's experiences in school.

(133) What do you as a parent, perceive as the most demanding aspects of his (her) schooling, and what do you do to help him(her) meet those demands?

(134) How have the parent-teacher conferences been helpful to you? Specifically, what information do you receive and what do you typically do with the information?

(135) How well do your child's teachers know your child?

Exceptionally well ______ Very well _____ Fairly or reasonably well ____
Somewhat ______ Not at all ____

(136) Please give one example of why you feel as you do.

(137) Have you received any special positive compliments about child's name from one of his(her) teachers in the past year?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't remember ( )

(138) If Yes: What was(were) the reason(s) for the most compliment(s)?

(139) Name any special awards or commendations that child's name has received from this school.

(a) ______________________________

(b) ______________________________

(c) ______________________________

(d) ______________________________

(e) ______________________________

(f) ______________________________

(140) If applicable: Why did he(she) receive the award(s)?

(141) Has there been an occasion in the elementary school years in which you feel you changed a teacher's attitude about child's name?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't Know ( )

(142) If Yes: What was the occasion? What did you do? What happened after that?

(143) Tell me about one school experience that you noticed and thought was a particularly good learning experience for child's name. Why was it so beneficial?

(144) Tell me about one that you noticed and thought was not a particularly good experience for him (her). Why not?

(145) Does child's name often talk to you about school?

Yes, very often ( ) Yes, sometimes ( ) No, not at all ( )

(146) Does he (she) talk as often as you would like?

Yes, more than I would like ( )

Yes, as often as I would want ( )

No, not as often as I would like ( )

(147) What does he(she) talk about? What, for example, was the content of the most recent talk about school you had with child's name that lasted about 5-15 minutes? (INTERVIEWER, RECORD MOTHER'S VERBATIM COMMENTS.)

(148) Who started the talk?

Mother ( ) Child ( )

(149) Who ended the talk?

Mother ( ) Child ( )

(150) Was this a typical conversation you have with your child about school?

Yes, very typical ( ) Yes, fairly typical ( ) No ( )

(151) If No" Why was talk unusual?

(152) How do you think your child's teachers judge his(her) progress in school? For example, does the teacher primarily use tests, other teachers' opinions, achievement tests, past experiences with other children, or what, to make her judgments?

(153) Are there students on scholarship at your child's grade level?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(154) If Yes: Do you personally know who some of them are?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(155) If Yes: Does knowing who they are personally make a difference to you? Why or why not?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

Here are some situations which may have happened to you and your child since he(she) has been in school. Tell me how you handled them (or would handle them if they haven't happened):

(156) Your child doesn't want to do his(her) homework?

(157) Your child doesn't like his(her) teacher?

(158) Your child gets a bad conduct mark from his(her) teacher?

(159) Your child refuses to go to school one morning?

(160) Your child gets a failing grade in school?

(161) Your child gets in with a bad crowd of children his(her) age?

(162) Your child asks you a question that you can't answer?

(163) Tell me about child's name's favorite teacher. What subject does he (she) teach?

(164) Why do you suppose child's name is so fond of him (her)?

(165) To the best of your knowledge, how does he(she) discipline the class?

(166) Generally, are there any special and unique qualities of teachers in your child's school that you can tell me about?

(167) What is your child's headmaster (principal) like? What is her (her) job?

(168) To your knowledge, how is discipline generally handled in your child's school?

(169) Have you noticed any particular projects, assignments, or books from school that child's name especially likes?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(170) If Yes: List.

(171) Has he(she) ever required treatment for any emotional upsets by school personnel or your family doctor?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(172) Has he(she) ever been involved in any serious trouble with school authorities such as being suspended or sent home from school?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(173) How would you describe his(her) general ability to get along with other people at school?

Excellent ( ) Good ( ) Average ( ) Not so good ( ) Poor ( )

(174) Do you feel child's name works up to his(her) ability at school?

Yes, definitely ( ) Yes, for the most part ( ) No, not usually ( )
No, not at all ( ) Don't know ( )

(175) Has he(she) received any special tutoring or other educational training?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(176) Is child's name in the grade appropriate for his(her) age?

Yes ( )     No ( )     Don't know ( )

(177) If No: Why not?

(178) Do you think child's name has had any problems in school because he(she) is a boy(girl)?

Yes, many ( )     Yes, a few ( )     Don't know ( )     No ( )

(179) If applicable: Please describe one.

(180) To your knowledge, what special ethnic or national holidays or commemorative events are celebrated in school? List. (PROBE: ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL ONES THAT THE SCHOOL CLOSES FOR?)

(181) Are there any that are not celebrated that you believe should be? List.

(182) Do you feel your child attends an ethnically and racially integrated school? Why or why not?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(183) How do you think child's name is most like other children in his(her) school?

(184) In what ways do you feel he(she) is most unlike the other children in school?

(185) At school are his(her) friends mainly:

Boys ( ) Girls ( ) Both ( )

(186) Black ( ) White ( ) Both ( )

Other (RECORD) ( ) ______________________

(187) Are you pleased with the school friends child's name has made?

Yes, very much ( ) Yes, for the most part ( ) No ( )

(188) What, in particular, pleases you about his(her) friendship choices?

(189) Displeases you?

(190) Have you personally requested curricular changes (additions, deletions) in the school?

Never ______ Once or twice _______ More than twice _____

(191) If yes: Why? What happened? Are you satisfied with the outcomes? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO HAVE ONE INCIDENT DESCRIBED IN DETAIL.)

(192) Does your school have computers which can be used as teaching and learning aids?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(193) If Yes: To your knowledge, has child's name learned to use the computer?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

Do you know if your child has used any of these other instructional aids in his(her) work?

(194) Science laboratory Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

(195) Self-paced learning programs Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

(196) Curriculum-related trips extending over 2 days Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

(197) Special classroom exhibits and displays Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

(198) Audio-visula media: in-class use Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

(199) Audio-visual media: take-home use Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

(200) Modular learning packets Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

(201) Aside from the services of classroom teachers during the school day, what other support services are provided in your child's school? List.

Have you used any of the following services for your child?

(202) After-school programs? Yes_____ No _____

(203) Behavioral evaluations? Yes_____ No _____

(204) Community-based referrals? Yes _____ No _____

(205) Special trips or excursions that are optional? Yes _____ No _____

(206) Summer camp? Yes _____ No _____

(207) Counselling for high school? Yes _____ No _____

(208) Other? (LIST BELOW)

(209) Do you anticipate using these, or any other, support services before your child finishes eighth grade?

Yes ______ No ______ Don't know _______

(210) If Yes: Which ones? Why?

(211) All schools have particular curriculum strengths and weaknesses. In your opinion, what are the special curriculum strengths at your child's school?

(212) What are the curriculum weaknesses?

(213) How has this particular combination of strengths and weaknesses affected the education of child's name?

(214) What supplementary experiences do you provide for child's name outside to offset the weaknesses you perceive?

15) What plans are you and the school currently making, separately or jointly, for child's name high school years? (INTERVIEWER: BE SURE TO GET PARENT'S VIEW OF FAMILY AND SCHOOL ROLES IN PLANNING.)

6) Has your child's schooling experiences over the past years in any way changed your earlier (prior to school entry) opinion of what he (she) needs to get along in this world?

Yes, a great deal ( )  Yes, somewhat ( )  No, not at all ( )

7) If Yes: How has your opinion changed and can you tell me why it changed?

8) In what ways, if any, has knowledge of how child's name gets along in school influenced your opinion about his (her) probable occupational future?

CODE NUMBER ____________

## VI. CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION AT HOME

Mrs. ____________, these questions concern you and your child's day-to-day life at home in this community. We want to know how you see the neighborhood, especially how it supports your family's educational program for child's name.

It is clear that your family has chosen name of school to meet your educational goals for child's name. You have already told me a lot about these goals, and about how your role in the school helps you to realize them. You have also given me your impressions of the schooling experiences that child's name has. This final part of the interview has to do with the out-of-school educative role of your family.

(219) Very generally, what are your expectations of the role of your neighborhood community in child's name education?

(220) Does child's name have friends in this neighborhood?

Yes, many ( )    Yes, a few ( )    Don't know ( )

No ( )

(221) To the best of your knowledge, what must a child do, have, or be to be popular with child's name's neighborhood friends?

(222) In what ways do you feel child's name is most unlike the other children in this neighborhood?

(INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR CHILDREN OF PARENTS' FRIENDS AND NONFRIENDS.)

Are his (her) neighborhood (out-of-school) friends mainly:

(223) Boys ( ) Girls ( ) Both ( )

Other (comment) ( ) ______________________________

(224) Black ( ) White ( ) Both ( )

Other (comment) ( ) ______________________________

(225) Are you pleased with the friends that child's name has made in the neighborhood?

Yes, very much ( ) Yes, for the most part ( ) No ( )

(226) What, in particular, pleases you about his(her) friendship choices?

(227) Displeases you?

(228) Do you and/or the other family members have much informal social contact with other families in your child's school?

Yes, considerable ( ) Yes, some ( ) Very little ( )

Almost none at all ( )

229) What reasons would you give for your answer?

(230) What activities, over the course of a year, does your entire family especially look forward to doing together as a group that child's name especially enjoys? List and describe.

(231) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in child's name's education?

Now, I'd like to briefly ask you a few questions about child's name 's early childhood years before kindergarten.

(232) Before child's name started kindergarten did you teach him(her) anything like reading words, writing the alphabet, drawing, or telling time, or things like that?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't remember ( )

(233) If Yes: What did you teach him(her)? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR EMPHASIS ON LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT IF NOT MENTIONED.)

(234) Did anyone else in the family teach child's name school skills before kindergarten?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't remember ( )

(235) If Yes: What family relation was this person to child's name?

______________________________

(236) What did he(she, they) teach him(her)?

(237) About what age was child's name when this teaching started? ____________

(238) What could child's name do when he(she) went to kindergarten? (INTERVIEWER: IF MOTHER HESITATES, ASK "FOR EXAMPLE, COULD HE(SHE) DO THINGS LIKE DRESS ON HER(HER) OWN, CUT WITH SCISSORS, TELL DIFFERENT COLORS, PUT PUZZLES TOGETHER?")

(INTERVIEWER: QUESTIONS ON PAGES 48a TO 49b ONLY FOR PARENTS OF BLACK CHILDREN)

All children have multiple sources of identity formation. Your child, 'm sure, is no exception. Now, I would like to talk with you about child's name's periences as a Black American child. (INTERVIEWER PAUSE.)

Has your child had any special problems in school because he(she) is a black American?

Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

If Yes: Could you tell me about one such problem?

Do you think child's name will have any problems in school because he(she) is a black American?

Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) Don't know ( ) No ( )

If applicable: What do you anticipate and how are you planning to protect your child?

Mrs. __________, turning now to the broader community, do you feel that your family has had any problems because you are black American? Why or why not? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ANY DETAILS THE MOTHER IS WILLING TO OFFER, ESPECIALLY REGARDING HOW FAMILY POSITIVELY COPES.)

What black person, living or dead, would you most like child's name to admire?______________________________

Why this person?

5) How does your family go about ensuring that child's name will have a positive Black identity?

Do you think that child's name knows a lot about the history of black people?

6) Yes ( ) Not Sure ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

What about yourself? (INTERVIEWER: If yes, PROBE FOR WHEN, WHERE, AND HOW.)

7) Yes ( ) Not sure ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

Have you told him(her) much about famous black people?

8) Yes ( ) Not sure ( ) No ( ) Don't remember ( )

Do you talk much to him(her) about civil rights?

9) Yes ( ) Not Sure ( ) No ( ) Don't remember ( )

(250) Where do you feel child's name should get information about black Americans?

251a) What other day-to-day experiences in reference to being black have you and child's name talked about?

(251b) Do you think that child's name sees himself (herself) as a black child?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Not Sure ( )

(251c) Why or why not?

(252) Describe any special features of your family's overall educational program for child's name because he (she) is a black American child.

(INTERVIEWER: TO BE ASKED OF ALL RESPONDENTS)

(253) Has the experience of an ethnically and racially diverse private school in any way influenced your opinion about quality education?

Yes, a great deal ( ) Yes, somewhat ( ) No, very little ( )

No, not at all ( )

(254) Why do you hold this view?

(255) What has been, in your view, the role of your child's school in helping him(her) to achieve a positive racial and ethnic identity? (PROBE: SHOULD IT HAVE A GREATER OR LESSER ROLE, WHY OR WHY NOT?)

(256) What has your child learned in school about people of other races and cultures that you think especially important?

How has he(she) learned this?

(257) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children? Why or why not?

(258) Overall, how self-confident a person would you say that child's name is? Is he (she) (INTERVIEWER READ PROBES AND CIRCLE ONE LETTER BELOW):

a. Not self-confident?

b. Fairly self-confident?

c. Self-confident?

d. Very self-confident?

e. Extremely self-confident?

f. Don't know

(259) And what do you feel contributes to his (her) self-perception? (INTERVIEWER CHECK ALL THAT APPLY BELOW AND ALSO RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE)

Parent(s)______ School (Teachers, other staff)______ Peers/Friends______

Other family (e.g., Siblings, Grandparents) ______ Self ______

(260) Reflecting upon your experiences with this school, what would you most want to share with other families like your own?

## VII. EDUCATIONAL ATTITUDE SURVEY

CIRCLE THE NUMBER WHICH BEST REPRESENTS THE MOTHER'S OPINION. BEFORE STARTING, READ THE FOLLOWING TO EACH MOTHER:

Mrs. __________, will you listen to the following statements and tell me whether you: (1) Agree very much, (2) Agree a little bit, (3) Don't know, (4) Disagree a little, or (5) Disagree very much with each one. Here is the first statement. (INTERVIEWER: GIVE MOTHER CARD D; CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER.)

1. The only way that poor people can raise the way they live is to get a good education. 1 2 3 4 5
2. Most teachers probably like quiet children better than active ones. 1 2 3 4 5
3. I can do very little to improve the schools. 1 2 3 4 5
4. What they teach the kids is out of date. 1 2 3 4 5
5. Most teachers do not want to be bothered by parents coming to see them. 1 2 3 4 5
6. Sports and games take up too much time. 1 2 3 4 5
7. Kids cut up so much that teachers can't teach. 1 2 3 4 5
8. Not enough time is spent learning reading, writing and arithmetic. 1 2 3 4 5
9. Most teachers would be good examples for my children. 1 2 3 4 5
10. When children do not work hard in school, the parents are to blame. 1 2 3 4 5
11. Most children have to be made to learn. 1 2 3 4 5
12. If I disagree with the principal there is very little I can do. 1 2 3 4 5

Thank you. This is the end of the interview. I would like to thank you for your time and ask you if you have any questions of me?

CODE NUMBER ______________________

## III. INTERVIEWER COMMENTS

1) Describe any unusual circumstances leading up to this interview. Where was the interview held? How much privacy did you have? How did you feel before the interview; after the interview?

2) Did you feel that this was an informative interview? Yes ( ) No ( )
Did you feel that there was some very important information you were unable to learn from this mother? What made you feel this way? BE SPECIFIC.

3) Did you get a clear picture of this mother's child? How well do you think she understands her child, by comparison to many mothers with children this age?

4) From what you have learned, is this a family you would like to be a part of? Why or why not? BE SPECIFIC.

5) Describe the mother's behavior during the interview. Did you like her? Why or why not?

6) Do you think this mother has a sense of direction--knows what it takes to get her child where she would like him (or her) to be? Say yes or no and try to give a specific example from your talks with her to justify this belief.

ontinue on the opposite side if necessary.

NIE Project CODE NUMBER ________________

Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools

Housing Checklist

## HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

INTERVIEWER: This form is be completed before entering the home for the interview.

1. The housing unit most closely resembles:
   a. one-family house
   b. two-family house
   c. three family house or apt.
   d. four-family house or apt.
   e. building with 5 to 9 apartments
   f. building with 10 to 19 apartments
   g. building with 20 to 49 apartments
   h. building with 50 or more apartments

2. Property upon which the housing unit is located is:

   a. well maintained
   b. in need of repair
   c. could not determine

3. Does the building containing this housing unit also contain space for non-residential purposes, such as a store, office, warehouse, etc.?

   a. yes
   b. no

4. The street (one block, both sides) on which the housing unit is located is:

   a. residential only
   b. residential with one or two stores only
   c. commercial with three or more stores
   d. other

5. Racial composition of street ( one block both sides) on which the housing unit is located is:

   a. all White
   b. mostly White
   c. about half White, half Black
   d. mostly Black
   e. all Black
   f. Other (e.g., mostly Latino, Asian)
   g. Could not determine

   COMMENTS:

## ADMINISTRATOR

Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools (NIE Research Project)
Diana T. Slaughter, Ph.D. and Barbara L. Schneider, Ph.D.
Northwestern University
School of Education
June 23, 1983

Interviewer Initials ______________________________

Focal School ______________________________

Name ______________________________

Job Title ______________________________

Personnel Code Number ______________________________

Time Period of Interview ______________________________

| l No. | Date | Time | Result of Call | Date Interview Scheduled For | Date Interview Conducted | Date Interview Returned to Office | Date Quality Control on Interviw Assessment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

COMMENTS: ______________________________

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCES

As we discussed previously, our study includes interviews with both teachers and administrators. We would like to begin by asking you a few general questions about yourself.

(1) (a) (INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX)

Female ( ) Male ( )

(b) (INTERVIEWER: RECORD ETHNIC GROUP)

Black ( )
Hispanic ( )
Asian-American ( )
Native American ( )
White ( )
Other ( )

(2) (a) Mr./Mrs. ______________, how long have you been headmaster/principal of ____________________ School?

(b) What position did you hold before becoming headmaster/principal?

(3) From what institution have you received your degrees? When was that, and what were your major areas of specialization?

| | Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | | |
| 2. | | | | |
| 3. | | | | |
| 4. | | | | |
| 5. | | | | |

(4) What are your educational plans for your self now?

CODE NUMBER ______________________

## II. EDUCATIONAL GOALS

Now, we would like to learn about the educational goals you have for the teachers and students in your school.

(9) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for children?

(10) How is this view of education reflected in the admissions process?

(11) What do you perceive as the goals of the school today? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ACADEMIC STANDARDS, SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACEMENTS, ETC.)

(12) Are these goals shared among the staff?

## III. ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

Now, we would like to learn about your role in establishing and implementing school policies concerning the admissions process.

(13) How do prospective students learn about ______________ School? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR WHERE AND HOW PARENTS OBTAIN INFORMATION ON THE SCHOOL.)

(10) How does this school compare to other schools you have administered or taught in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS, SIZE, INCOME LEVEL OF PARENTS, GRADE LEVELS, ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUPS, DISTANCES TRAVELED TO SCHOOL)

(11) (a) Could you tell us about what your primary administrative responsibilities are in this school?

(b) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend outside of school on administrative related activities?

(1) number of hours ______

(2) number of hours in a typical week ______

(c) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend in school on these administrative related activities?

(1) number of hours ______

(2) number of hours in a typical week ______

(12) What makes you want to continue to be the headmaster in this school? Is it the salary?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If no, what is it?

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCES

Our study includes interviews with both teachers and administrators. We would like to begin by asking you a few general questions about yourself.

(1) Mr./Mrs. __________, How long have you been in the role of admissions officer at ____________ School?

Number of years ________

(2) (a) What position did you hold before assuming this role?

(b) Do you have other responsibilities in addition to being in charge of admissions?

What are they?

(3) From what institutions did you receive your degrees?

When was that?

What were your major areas of specialization?

| Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

(16) What traditions and rituals has the school maintained from its historical past? Why do you think these traditions have remained?

(17) What are the goals of the school today? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ACADEMIC STANDARDS, SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACEMENTS AFTER GRADUATION)

(18) Do the faculty and staff share your views on school goals? Are these goals shared among the staff?

(19) (a) Do you have any special expectation for students that are new to the school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BLACK STUDENTS IN PARTICULAR, THEIR ACADEMIC AS WELL AS SOCIAL NEEDS)

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) What are they?

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## V. INTERVIEWER COMMENTS

(1) Describe any unusual circumstances leading up to the interview.

(2) Where was the interview held?

(3) How much privacy did you have?

(4) Do you feel there was some very important information you were unable to learn from the administrator?

(5) Describe the administrator's behavior during the interview. Did you feel he/she was at ease answering the questions? Were there any questions which seemed to cause him/her any emotional stress?

CODE NUMBER ______________

## III. SCHOOL PARTICIPATION

Now, we would like to learn your view of how parents, teachers and students interact in the life of this school.

(21) What are the policy, academic and social committees which parents, teachers and students can belong to in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR FUNCTIONS OF COMMITTEES, HOW PEOPLE ARE ENCOURAGED TO JOIN)

(a) Policy Committees

Participants

Function

(b) Social Committees

Participants

Function

(22) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes,

a great deal ( ) sometimes ( ) hardly at all ( )

(c) Why? Why not?

(f) Student evaluation

Process

Policy

(g) Teacher evaluations

Process

Policy

(h) Administrator evaluations

Process

Policy

(48) For which of these policies do you feel you have the most power and authority? For which ones do the teachers have the most power and authority?

(49) What role do you play in the admissions process? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR POLICY DECISIONS, ROLE IN SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS)

(50) How important is parent input in determining school policies?

(29) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parent's job in helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER ADMINISTRATOR SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE)

(b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in your students' education?

(30) How important is the child's home environment to his or her:

(a) academic performance in the classroom?

(b) social behavior particularly in regard to peer group interactions?

(c) How important is the home environment to a minority child's academic performance?

(d) How important is the home environment to a Black child's academic performance?

(e) Describe any special features you think a Black family should include in its overall educational program because its child is a Black American.

(44) Do you believe that ________________ is a neighborhood school?

Why? Why not?

What effect does this have on the social experiences of the children in the school?

(45) (a) How important is it to have a sense of community within the school?

(b) If applicable, how does this school do this?

(46) Do you think ____________________ School is a good learning environment for all children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(34) How would you characterize the ideal headmaster/principal?

(35) How would you describe a successful, effective teacher in this school?

(36) Are there any special characteristics you look for in hiring new teachers?

(37) Do you believe there is an esprit de corps among the faculty?

Yes ( ) No ( )
Why? Why not?

(38) Do you feel that any of your minority students have any special problems in school because they are minority students?

Yes ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

If yes, could you tell me about them?

(34) How would you characterize the ideal headmaster/principal?

(35) How would you describe a successful, effective teacher in this school?

(36) Are there any special characteristics you look for in hiring new teachers?

(37) Do you believe there is an esprit de corps among the faculty?

Yes ( ) No ( )
Why? Why not?

(38) Do you feel that any of your minority students have any special problems in school because they are minority students?

Yes ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

If yes, could you tell me about them?

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Why? Why not?

What effect does this have on the social experiences of the children in the school?

(45) (a) How important is it to have a sense of community within the school?

(b) If applicable, how does this school do this?

(46) Do you think ____________________ School is a good learning environment for all children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(29) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parent's job in helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER ADMINISTRATOR SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE)

(b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in your students' education?

(30) How important is the child's home environment to his or her:

(a) academic performance in the classroom?

(b) social behavior particularly in regard to peer group interactions?

(c) How important is the home environment to a minority child's academic performance?

(d) How important is the home environment to a Black child's academic performance?

(e) Describe any special features you think a Black family should include in its overall educational program because its child is a Black American.

(f) Student evaluation

Process

Policy

(g) Teacher evaluations

Process

Policy

(h) Administrator evaluations

Process

Policy

(48) For which of these policies do you feel you have the most power and authority? For which ones do the teachers have the most power and authority?

(49) What role do you play in the admissions process? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR POLICY DECISIONS, ROLE IN SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS)

(50) How important is parent input in determining school policies?

CODE NUMBER ________________

## III. SCHOOL PARTICIPATION

Now, we would like to learn your view of how parents, teachers and students interact in the life of this school.

(21) What are the policy, academic and social committees which parents, teachers and students can belong to in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR FUNCTIONS OF COMMITTEES, HOW PEOPLE ARE ENCOURAGED TO JOIN)

(a) Policy Committees

Participants

Function

(b) Social Committees

Participants

Function

(22) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes,

a great deal ( ) sometimes ( ) hardly at all ( )

(c) Why? Why not?

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## V. INTERVIEWER COMMENTS

(1) Describe any unusual circumstances leading up to the interview.

(2) Where was the interview held?

(3) How much privacy did you have?

(4) Do you feel there was some very important information you were unable to learn from the administrator?

(5) Describe the administrator's behavior during the interview. Did you feel he/she was at ease answering the questions? Were there any questions which seemed to cause him/her any emotional stress?

(16) What traditions and rituals has the school maintained from its historical past? Why do you think these traditions have remained?

(17) What are the goals of the school today? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ACADEMIC STANDARDS, SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACEMENTS AFTER GRADUATION)

(18) Do the faculty and staff share your views on school goals? Are these goals shared among the staff?

(19) (a) Do you have any special expectation for students that are new to the school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BLACK STUDENTS IN PARTICULAR, THEIR ACADEMIC AS WELL AS SOCIAL NEEDS)

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) What are they?

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCES

Our study includes interviews with both teachers and administrators. We would like to begin by asking you a few general questions about yourself.

(1) Mr./Mrs. __________, How long have you been in the role of admissions officer at ____________ School?

Number of years ________

(2) (a) What position did you hold before assuming this role?

(b) Do you have other responsibilities in addition to being in charge of admissions?

What are they?

(3) From what institutions did you receive your degrees?

When was that?

What were your major areas of specialization?

| Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

(10) How does this school compare to other schools you have administered or taught in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS, SIZE, INCOME LEVEL OF PARENTS, GRADE LEVELS, ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUPS, DISTANCES TRAVELED TO SCHOOL)

(11) (a) Could you tell us about what your primary administrative responsibilities are in this school?

(b) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend outside of school on administrative related activities?

(1) number of hours ______

(2) number of hours in a typical week ______

(c) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend in school on these administrative related activities?

(1) number of hours ______

(2) number of hours in a typical week ______

(12) What makes you want to continue to be the headmaster in this school? Is it the salary?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If no, what is it?

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## II. EDUCATIONAL GOALS

Now, we would like to learn about the educational goals you have for the teachers and students in your school.

(9) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for children?

(10) How is this view of education reflected in the admissions process?

(11) What do you perceive as the goals of the school today? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ACADEMIC STANDARDS, SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACEMENTS, ETC.)

(12) Are these goals shared among the staff?

## III. ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

Now, we would like to learn about your role in establishing and implementing school policies concerning the admissions process.

(13) How do prospective students learn about ______________ School? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR WHERE AND HOW PARENTS OBTAIN INFORMATION ON THE SCHOOL.)

(5) What is your year of birth?

(6) Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| Child | Relation to child (Natural or step parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

(7) What made you interested in becoming an administrator in a private school?

(8) How were you recruited for this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE IF AN OPEN OR CLOSED PROCESS, WHERE WAS THE POSITION ADVERTISED?)

(9) (a) Have you always taught in private schools?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes, what type of private schools did you teach in? (INTERVIEWER: FOR SIZE OF SCHOOL, LOCATION AND EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS)

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## I. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCES

As we discussed previously, our study includes interviews with both teachers and administrators. We would like to begin by asking you a few general questions about yourself.

(1) (a) (INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX)

Female ( ) Male ( )

(b) (INTERVIEWER: RECORD ETHNIC GROUP)

Black ( )
Hispanic ( )
Asian-American ( )
Native American ( )
White ( )
Other ( )

(2) (a) Mr./Mrs. ____________, how long have you been headmaster/principal of __________________ School?

(b) What position did you hold before becoming headmaster/principal?

(3) From what institution have you received your degrees? When was that, and what were your major areas of specialization?

| | Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | | |
| 2. | | | | |
| 3. | | | | |
| 4. | | | | |
| 5. | | | | |

(4) What are your educational plans for your self now?

(b) student essays

Yes ________ No ________

If yes, on what topics?

Why do you require this?

How are the essays evaluated?

How much weight do student essays carry in the admissions process?

(c) student grade transcripts

Yes ________ No ________

If yes, are these sent directly from the school?

How much weight do student grade transcripts carry in the admissions process?

(d) student test scores

Yes ________ No ________

If yes, what type of tests?

How much weight do test scores carry in the admissions process?

(e) student/family visits/interviews

Yes ________ No ________

If yes, when and how are these visits scheduled?

How much weight do these visits/interviews carry in the admissions process?

(19) Do parents typically request a school visit?

Yes ________ No ________

If yes, when do parents typically request the visit?

______ Before making a formal application

______ During the application process

______ After the application process is completed?

(20) What is the school policy on parent visits?
(INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO SEE IF THEY CAN BE MADE BEFORE AN APPLICATION IS COMPLETED.)

(21) What would a typical family visit include? Interviews with staff, observations in classrooms?

(22) How are these visits evaluated in the admissions process?

(23) Do you require specific tests before a student will be considered as a candidate?

Yes _______ No ________

If yes, what tests do you require?

Where and how are these tests administered?

(24) Do you think standardized tests are culturally biased?

Yes _______ No ________

What do you think is the best type of standardized tests for predicting success for students in this school?

(25) (a) When do you begin acting on an application?

(b) If all of the application materials are not completed, what procedures do you use to follow up on an application?

(26) How are admission decisions made?
(INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR PROCESS)

(27) Are there formal criteria which prioritizes the qualifications of the potential candidates?

Yes ________ No ________

Could you tell me what the criteria are?

(28) What are the most difficult decisions in the admissions process?

(29) From your experiences as an admissions officer, what pieces of information in the admissions process are the best predictors of student success in ________________ School?

Which are the least?

(30) Is there any information that you think should be part of the application process that is currently not? Why? Why not?

(31) Do you have any special procedures for recruiting minority students?

Yes ________ No ________

If yes, what are they?

(32) What special characteristics do you look for when recruiting minority students?
(INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR SPECIAL TALENTS.)

(33) Are the same admissions criteria applied to minority students as to other students?

Yes ________ No ________

(34) Do you have student scholarships?

Yes _______ No ______

What is included in the scholarship package?

(35) Is scholarship information included in the application form?

(36) What are the criteria for awarding scholarships?

(37) How are scholarship decisions made?

(38) What information on new students is shared with the faculty?

(39) Do you prepare summaries on admissions information at the end of the school year?

Yes ________ No ______

If yes, can we see those reports?

(40) What contacts do you have with teachers regarding the admissions process?

(41) Are the same admission procedures

(a) applied to children of faculty?

Yes _______ No ________

How are they different?

(b) Siblings of students already enrolled?

Yes ________ No _______

How are they different?

(c) Children of alumni?

Yes ________ No _______

How are they different?

(42) What is the relationship between the quality of education at ____________________ School and the admissions process?

## IV. SCHOOL PARTICIPATION

Now, we would like to learn how teachers and parents are involved in the admissions process.

(43) Are parents active in admissions recruitment? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR MINORITY PARENTS)

Yes ________ No _______

If yes, what types of things do they do?

(44) Do you have specific resource persons (such as teachers in other schools) to help you with recruitment?

Yes ________ No _______

If yes, what type of activities has the individual pursued in your school?

(45) (a) Do you participate in cooperative recruiting programs with other independent schools?

Yes ________ No _______

If yes, could you tell me about these activities?

(b) Have you ever had any contact with A Better Chance?

Yes ________ No ________

Black Student Fund?

Yes ________ No ________

(46) What is the school policy on recruiting minorities? For example, has the school made a commitment to increase the numbers of minority students?

(47) Where do the majority of your minority students come from?

______ public schools

______ other independent schools

(48) Do you have a minority affairs program?

(49) When do you consider admissions?

______ only at specific times

______ throughout the year

(50) How do most of the parents pay their tuition bills?

______ in one lump sum

______ payments throughout the year

Is the tuition payment schedule determined before a student is formally admitted?

Yes ________ No ________

(51) Does the school first admit students and then consider students for financial aid?

(52) Do you use School Scholarship Service (SSS)?

Yes ________ No ________

(53) Where does support for scholarships come from? Is it primarily from

_______ tuition

______ special donations

______ special fund raising events

_____ endowments

_______ other

(54) What is the refusal rate for

(a) all your applicants?

about ______ 1 out of 5

______ 1 out of 10

______ 1 out of 20

______ 1 out of 30

______ 1 out of 40

______ 1 out of 50

(b) What is the refusal rate for your minority applications?

(55) After a student has been admitted, do you provide a support system such as big brother/sister programs, or contacts with other parents?

Yes ________ No _______

If yes, could you describe your system?

(56) For new students do you recommend tutoring or summer programs?

Yes ________ No ______

If yes, what types of programs do you recommend, for what type of students?

(57) What is the range of interests and abilities in your student population?

(58) How much academic and social diversity can the school accommodate?

(59) Do you think that there has to be a specific number of minority students present in the school for minority students to have a sense of racial identity? belonging?

(60) (a) Do you think it is important for the school to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity for the students?

Yes ________ No ________

(b) What about Black Americans?

Yes ________ No ________

(c) If yes, what things do you do to accomplish this?

(61) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems now or later in school because they are Black Americans?

(62) Do you believe ______________________ is an ethnically and and racially integrated school?

Yes ________ No ________

Why? Why not?

(63) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children?

Why? Why not?

(64) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the qualityi of education?

______ a great deal

______ some

______ none

Why do you hold this view?

(65) Do you believe that ________________ is a neighborhood school?

Why? Why not?

(66) Does the school try to build a sense of community within the school?

Yes ________ No ________

How does the school do this?

(67) How important is it to have a "sense of community" within a school?

Why? Why not?

---

That completes the interview. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

## V. Interviewer comments

1) Describe any unusual circumstances leading up to the interview.

2) Where was the interview held?

3) How much privacy did you have?

4) Do you feel there was some very important information you were unable to learn from the administrator?

5) Describe the administrator's behavior during the interview. Did you feel she/he was at ease answering the questions? Were there any questions which seemed to cause her/him any emotional stress?

## SCHOOL INTERVIEW

Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools (NIE Research Project)
Diana T. Slaughter, Ph.D. and Barbara L. Schneider, Ph.D.
Northwestern University
School of Education
June 23, 1983

Interviewer Initials ______________________________

Focal School ______________________________

Name ______________________________

Job Title ______________________________

Personnel Code Number ______________________________

Time Period of Interview ______________________________

| l No. | Date | Time | Result of Call | Date Interview Scheduled For | Date Interview Conducted | Date Interview Returned to Office | Date Quality Control on Interview Assessment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

OMMENTS: ______________________________

CODE NUMBER ______________

## I. PREVIOUS INTERVIEW EXPERIENCE

(1) Have you ever been interviewed about your teaching experiences?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes: When? Why were you interviewed at that time?

(INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE IF THIS TEACHER HAS BEEN A PART OF ANY OTHER RESEARCH STUDY OR CONDUCTED A STUDY IN THE PAST SEVEN YEARS, AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES.)

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## II. DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPERIENCES

Coding Margin*

Now, Mrs./Mr. ____________________, we are interested in learning about your previous education and other occupational experiences. First, we'd like to ask you some general questions about yourself.

(2) INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX

**Female ( )** **Male ( )**

(3) INTERVIEWER: RECORD ETHNIC GROUP

**Black ( )**
**Hispanic ( )**
**Asian-American ( )**
**Native American ( )**
**White ( )**
**Other ( )**

(4) Mrs./Mr. ______________, where do you live? Could you describe your housing for me? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ONE FAMILY HOUSE, PRIMARILY RESIDENTIAL AREA, RACIAL COMPOSITION)

(5) About how far is that from your school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE HOW LONG IT TAKES TO GET TO SCHOOL)

(6) (a) Mrs./Mr. ______________, we would like to know from what institutions you have received your degrees, when, and major areas of specialization.

| | Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | | |
| 2. | | | | |
| 3. | | | | |
| 4. | | | | |
| 5. | | | | |

(b) What are your educational plans for yourself now?

(7) Are you currently attending graduate school in a school or college of education?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes,

(a) What are you majoring in?

(b) How long have you been attending that school?

(c) When do you expect to graduate?

(8) Are you attending any other type of professional school such as law school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes,

(a) Name of school

(b) How long have you been enrolled?

(c) How often do you attend class?

(d) When do you plan to graduate?

(9) Are you attending any adult education courses such as computer classes, cooking classes?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes,

(a) Name of school

(b) How long have you been enrolled?

(c) How often do you attend class?

(10) What is your year of birth?

(11) How would you describe your general health?

CIRCLE ONE: Excellent Average Below Average

(12) What is your marital status?

Single ( )

Married ( )

Divorced ( )

Spouse deceased ( )

(13) Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| Child | Relation to Child (Natural or step parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. ______ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 2. ______ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 3. ______ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 4. ______ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 5. ______ | ______ | ______ | ______ |

If yes, do or did your children attend a private elementary or secondary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why do or did you send your children to a private school?

Why don't you?

If no, if you had children, would you send them to a private school?

Why? Why not?

(14) (a) _______________, what would you say is the primary source of your family's income?

(b) What is the next major source of money to your family?

(INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD A TO RESPONDENT AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER DESIGNATE)

Which letter on this card best estimates your total family income in 1982?

a b c d e f g h i j

(15) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood?

(16) Would you describe it as a

large city ( ) small city ( ) small town ( )

suburb ( ) rural area ( ) outside of the United States ( )

(17) (a) What year did you come to Chicago?

(b) Why did you come at that time?

(18) How long have you lived at your present location?

(19) (a) Do you belong to any local non-school related clubs or neighborhood groups such as the League of Women Voters?

(b) If yes, could you please name them for me?

(20) (a) Are You a member in any professional organizations such as the National Teachers Association, American Federation of Teachers, or Phi Delta Kappa?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Name(s) of the organization(s) ______________________

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

(b) If yes, would you consider yourself a

very active member ( ) active member ( )

inactive member ( )

(21) Have you ever held, or do you now hold, an office in any professional organization or neighborhood group to which you belong (belonged)?

Yes, more than once ( ) Yes, once ( ) No, never ( )

If yes, could you please tell the name of the office or group?

(22) What other types of activities do you like to participate in during the time you are not working?

(23) Suppose you had two extra hours each day to do anything you wanted to including work as well as free time activities. What activities would you spend time on and why?

(24) How many years have you been teaching school?

(a) Number of years ________

(b) How many years have you been teaching at your present school? Number of years ________

(c) How many years have you been teaching at your present grade level? Number of years ________

(25) What do you teach? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE IF A DEPARTMENTALIZED PROGRAM, LIST SUBJECTS)

(a) Grade level: ________

| (b) Subjects taught | Grade level |
|---|---|
| 1. ________________________________________ | ____________ |
| 2. ________________________________________ | ____________ |
| 3. ________________________________________ | ____________ |
| 4. ________________________________________ | ____________ |
| 5. ________________________________________ | ____________ |

(26) How many students are in your class? (INTERVIEWER: IF TEACHES MORE THAN ONE SECTION, LIST THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN EACH SECTION)

Number of students ______ ______ ______ ______

(27) What are your typical daily school assignments? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE IF THE TEACHER HAS PLAYGROUND DUTIES, LUNCH DUTIES)

(28) Do you have any supervisory responsibilities? With students? With adults? (INTERVIEWER: LIST THEM.)

(29) (a) On a typical working day, how many hours do you spend outside of school on teaching related activities?

(1) Number of hours ______

(2) In a typical week?

Number of hours ______

(b) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend in school on teaching related activities?

(1) Number of hours ______

(2) In a typical week?

Number of hours ______

(30) Are you responsible for any extra curricular activities such as foreign language club, school band, or soccer team?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes,

(a) What are the activities?

(b) About how much time do you spend on these activities in a typical day? ______ in a typical week? ______

(c) Do you receive additional compensation for these activities?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(31) Do you have a second job in addition to teaching?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes,

How many hours per week do you spend at your second job? ______

Why do you have this second job?

If applicable,
Do you receive a monetary benefit from your second job?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(32) Have you always taught in private schools?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(a) If yes, what type of private schools did you teach in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR SIZE OF SCHOOL, LOCATION AND EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS.)

(b) If no, could you please describe what type of school or place of employment you worked in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR SIZE OF SCHOOL, LOCATION, AND EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS.)

(33) What made you interested in teaching in private schools?

(34) What keeps you teaching in this school?

Is it the salary?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If no, what is it?

(35) How were you recruited for this school?

If applicable,

(36) How does this school compare to other schools you have taught in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS, SIZE, INCOME LEVEL OF PARENTS, GRADE LEVELS, ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUPS, DISTANCES TRAVELED TO SCHOOL.)

CODE NUMBER _______________

## III. EDUCATIONAL GOALS

Now Mrs./Mr. _______________, we would like to learn about your past educational occupational experiences and how they influenced the educational goals you have for your students.

(37) Did you ever attend a private elementary or secondary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes,

(a) (a) elementary only ______ (b) secondary only _____

(c) elementary and secondary ______

(b) At what ages? ______________________ (INTERVIEWER: IF THEY TRANSFERRED IN AND OUT OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS)

(c) What type of private school was it?

(38) Did you attend a racially desegregated school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(39) What did you like best about elementary school (grades kindergarten through eight)?

(40) What did you like least of all?

(41) a) What was your best teacher like? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO FIND REASON FOR THE CHOICE, QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIP RECALLED.)

b) Did he or she serve as a teacher model for you? Why? Why not?

(42) How did your teachers discipline the classes?

(43) Do you remember any exciting class projects, books or assignments? Describe.

(44) Thinking back to your own school days, what would you most want to change if you could relive them?

(45) (a) How satisfied are you with the quality of education you received? (INTERVIEWER READ PROBES BELOW.)

Very satisfied ( ) Fairly satisfied ( )
Satisfied ( ) Not satisfied ( )
Very dissatisfied ( )

(b) Why are you satisfied or dissatisfied?

(46) (a) Do you remember what your parents hoped you would be when you grew up?

(b) What did you want to be?

(47) Before becoming a teacher, what types of experiences did you have with children? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE IF TEACHER WAS A CAMP COUNSELOR, SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER.)

(48) a) When did you decide to become a teacher? Describe.

b) Was there any one individual who influenced you the most to become a teacher?

c) Has this individual or any other individual served as a teacher role model? (INTERVIEWER: IF INDIVIDUAL IS IDENTIFIED PROBE FOR UNIQUE CHARACTERISTICS.)

(49) Do you feel successful in your present occupation as a teacher? Why? Why not?

(50) If you could have any occupation, would it still be a teacher?
(INTERVIEWER: PROBE IF RESPONDENT WOULD REMAIN A TEACHER, IF TEACHING SALARY WAS THE SOLE SOURCE OF FAMILY INCOME.)

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why?

(51) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in your classroom?

(52) How is this view of education reflected in this school?
(INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS.)

(53) Every school has a history, do you know how your school was founded? Can you tell me a little bit about its history?

(54) (a) What traditions, rituals and so on, has the school maintained from its historical past?

(b) Why do you think these traditions have remained?

(55) (a) What do you perceive as the goals of your school? (i.e., what the administrators want for the school).

(b) What do you perceive as the schools' goals for students?

(56) Why do you think the school has adopted these goals?

(57) Have these goals changed over time?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes, what has influenced the change?

(58) How are these goals reflected in your classroom?

(59) Could you identify and list at least four personal qualities you try to develop in your students?

(60) How do you try to foster these personal qualities in the classroom?

(61a) In the beginning of the school year, what type of plans do you make for the year? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR CURRICULUM PROGRAM AND SPECIAL ACTIVITIES.)

(61b) What do you do the first three days of school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR RULES, NORMS, AND ACADEMIC STANDARDS TEACHER DISCUSSES WITH CLASS(ES)).

(62) What do you expect from each new class of students?

(63) (a) Do you have any special expectations for students that are "new to the school"? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BLACK STUDENTS IN PARTICULAR: THEIR ACADEMIC AS WELL AS SOCIAL NEEDS.)

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) What are they?

(64) (a) What values of your own do you try to reinforce in the classroom?

(b) Do you feel your students share your values?

(c) Do you feel your students' parents share your values? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BLACK STUDENTS.)

(65) (a) Do your colleagues share your views on school goals?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) Do they all use similar methods to achieve these goals?

(66) (a) Do your colleagues share your academic standards for students?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(b) Do they share your standards for social behavior?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(67) (a) Where do students go after they have graduated from school's name? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR HIGH SCHOOL NAMES, COLLEGES.)

(b) FOR EIGHTH GRADE TEACHERS: Are there any special programs to prepare students for the transition from elementary to secondary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(c) Could you tell me about them?

(68) What do you believe is the least amount of schooling a student should have?

(69) In general, what do you believe a student needs to know in order to get along in this world?

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## IV. SCHOOL PARTICIPATION

Now, Mrs./Mr. ____________, we would like to learn when and how parents, teachers and administrators interact in the life of this school.

(70) (a) Are there any standing policy committees which teachers belong to?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) Could you please list them for me?

(c) Are parents encouraged to belong to these committees?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(71) What is the function of these committees?

(72) (a) Have you ever been a member of one of these committees?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) What was your role? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE WAS HE OR SHE AN OFFICER.)

(73) Are there any committees in the school which only parents are encouraged to participate in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR NAME OF COMMITTEE AND FUNCTION.)

(74) Are there any ad hoc faculty groups formed to deal with specific issues?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Could you name them?

(75) (a) Are teachers involved in the selection of "new teachers" for the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes, how are they involved?

(76) (a) Are teachers involved in the selection of a new "headmaster" or "principal" for the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes, how are they involved?

(77) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes,

a great deal ( ) sometimes ( )

hardly at all ( ) never ( )

(78) (a) What types of activities are the parents involved in?
For example, "Career Day."

(b) Have you ever had a parent in your classroom for such an activity as Career Day?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(79) (a) What other types of school-related activities are both parents and teachers involved in, such as fund raising carnivals, special music or dance programs?

(b) (IF APPLICABLE.) Are these activities primarly for fun?

(80) (a) Have you ever requested a parent volunteer?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) What was the occasion?

(81) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in this school?

Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )

Not Close ( ) Don't know ( )

(82) Would you say that parents in this school:

(a) spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting ( )

(b) spend some time ( )

(c) spend little time ( )

(d) spend no time ( )

(e) don't know ( )

(83) Are parents encouraged to spend time observing in classrooms?

Frequently ( ) Sometimes ( )

Hardly ever ( ) Not at all ( )

(84) (a) Are parents encouraged to call the teachers at home about their child?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) Are students encouraged to call the teachers at home?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(85) (a) Have you received any calls from parents?

Frequently ( ) Sometimes ( )

Hardly ever ( ) Not at all ( )

(b) Have you received calls from students?

Frequently ( ) Sometimes ( )

Hardly ever ( ) Not at all ( )

(86) Are you encouraged to call parents by phone regarding a student's behavior?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(87) (a) Have you made any calls this year?

Quite a few ( ) Some ( ) None ( )

(b) If applicable, could you tell me something about the nature of these calls?

(88) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parents' job as far as helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER TEACHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE.)

(b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in your students' education?

(89) How important is the child's home environment to his or her:

(a) academic performance in the classroom

(b) social behavior particularly peer group interactions

(c) How important is the home environment to a minority child's academic performance?

(d) How important is the home environment to a Black child's academic performance?

(e) Describe any special features you think a Black family should include in their overall educational program because their child is a Black American.

(90) (a) What are some of the educational matters for which you interact with your colleagues? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR SPECIFIC SITUATIONS.)

(b) Would you characterize these interactions as:

formal ( ) informal ( )

(c) Would you say they occur

frequently ( ) sometimes ( )

hardly ever ( ) never ( )

(91) Are there other instances, for example, social activities such as bridge clubs for which you interact with your colleagues?

(92) Would you say the relationships among the faculty are

very close ( ) somewhat close ( )

close ( ) not close ( )

(93) (a) Do you feel there is a sense of community or "school spirit" within your school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(b) Do you believe there is an esprit de corps among the faculty?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(94) (a) What types of issues are you likely to discuss with the headmaster (principal)?

(95) (a) Does the headmaster (principal) give you feedback on your teaching performance?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes, how is this conveyed?

(c) If applicable, what kinds of things is he or she likely to communicate?

(96) (a) Are there any special awards for teachers in the school, for example, "outstanding teacher"?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes, could you please describe the award and the criteria for receiving it?

(c) Have you ever received such an award?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(97) Are the teachers very supportive of the headmaster (principal)?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(98) Are the parents very supportive of the headmaster (principal)?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not

(99) How would you characterize the ideal headmaster (principal)?

(100) (a) What do you perceive as the strengths of your headmaster (principal)?

(b) Weaknesses?

(101) Now Mrs./Mr. ________________, I would like to ask you about your students. How would you compare this year's class to other classes you have had academically and socially?

Academically--

Socially--

(102) Are there any unusual situations you have encountered with your students? (INTERVIEWER: SOME PROBES, IF NO ANSWER, UNUSUALLY GIFTED CHILD, CHILD WITH EXTREME BEHAVIORAL DISORDERS, CHILD WHO HAS LOST A PARENT OR SIBLING.) Could you explain.

(103) (a) What types of behavior do you like to see in your classroom?

(b) Do you have many students who exhibit these behaviors?

Many ( ) Some ( ) A few ( ) None ( )

(104) Why do you think these behaviors are important?

(105) (a) What do you believe is a good school-related learning experience for a child?

(b) What would you consider not a particularly good school-related learning experience?

(106) (a) Are there any particular projects and assignments you do with the students that they particularly enjoy?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) Could you describe them?

(c) What about ones that the students dislike?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(d) Could you describe them?

(107) Did you have any favorite students (pets) in your class?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes, what is "special" about these students?

(108) Do you feel that any of your minority students have any special problems in school because they are minority students?

Yes ( ) Yes, a few ( )

No ( ) Don't know ( )

(109) If yes, could you tell me about them?

(110) What about your students who are Black Americans? Do they have any special problems in school because they are Black Americans?

Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( )

(111) Could you please tell me about them?

(112) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems later in school because they are Black Americans?

(113) (a) Do you think it is important for a teacher to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity in his or her students?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) What about Black Americans?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(c) If yes, what things should be done to accomplish this?

(d) Have you ever done these things in your classroom?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(114) (a) Where should a child receive information about their ethnic and racial identities?

(b) Where do you feel Black children should get information about Black Americans?

(115) Do you believe ____________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

Why? Why not?

(116) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children? Why? Why not?

(117) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?

A great deal ( ) Somewhat ( ) None ( )

Why do you hold this view?

(118) What special ethnic or national holiday or commemorative events are celebrated in school? List. (INTERVIEWER: ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL ONES THAT THE SCHOOL CLOSES FOR?)

(119) Are there any events which might promote ethnic and racial identity that are not celebrated that you believe should be? List.

(120) Are there any changes, for example curricular changes which would promote ethnic and racial diversity that you believe should be made in the school?

Why? Why not?

(121) (a) Do you believe that __________ is a neighborhood school?

Why? Why not?

(b) What effect does this have on the social experiences of the children in the school?

(c) Do you believe that families of your students have much informal social contact with other families in your school?

(d) What reasons would you give for your answer?

(122) How important is it to have a "sense of community" within a school?

Why? Why not?

(123) If applicable, how does the school do this?

(124) How would you characterize "school life" at __________ School?

(125) Do you think _______________ School is a good learning environment for all children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

CODE NUMBER _______________

## V. ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

Now, Mrs./Mr. __________________, we would like to learn about the teacher's role in establishing and implementing school policies.

(126) How are decisions regarding school policies made in your school and what are they? Specifically with reference to:

(a) Admission policies (criteria)

Process:

Policy:

(b) Student grade placement

Process:

Policy:

(c) Curriculum (textbook selection, units of study)

Process:

Policy:

(d) Discipline Code (INTERVIEWER: PROBE IF IT IS ENFORCED ON A SCHOOL LEVEL OR A CLASSROOM LEVEL.)

Process:

Policy:

(e) Homework assignments

Process:

Policy:

(f) Student evaluations

Process:

Policy:

(g) Teacher evaluations

Process:

Policy:

(127) (a) Have you personally requested curricular changes (additions, deletions) in the school?

(b) If yes,

Why? What happened? Are you satisfied with the outcomes? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO HAVE ONE INCIDENT DESCRIBED IN DETAIL.)

(c) What role are teachers expected to perform in determining curricular changes?

(128) What role have you assumed in developing curriculum for the school? For example, did you ever serve on a school-wide curriculum committee to introduce a unit on drug abuse, home safety, consumer education?

(129) (a) Have you ever made major curriculum changes in your classroom?

(b) What were they?

(c) What was the impetus for these curricular changes?

(130) Do your colleagues similarly participate in developing curriculum?

(a) For the school?

(b) Why? Why not?

(c) In their classrooms?

(d) Why? Why not?

(131) Were the experiences you had in college valuable for:

(a) teaching?

(b) curricular planning?

(c) student evaluations?

(d) classroom management techniques?

(132) Is there one college experience that was particularly valuable?

Not valuable?

(133) Where did you learn your classroom management techniques?

(134) Specifically, how would you manage a child who was very disruptive in the classroom? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR TYPES OF DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS USED IN THE CLASSROOM SUCH AS CALLING PARENTS, MORE HOMEWORK ASSIGNMENTS, CONTACTING THE HEADMASTER.)

(135) What type of classroom management techniques do your colleagues use in their classrooms?

(136) (a) Do you assign homework on a daily basis?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) Do you assign the same amount of homework for all your students? For example, do students with academic weaknesses receive extra assignments?

(c) How much time should a student typically spend on his or her homework on a daily basis?

(137) (a) How important is homework for students at your grade level?

(b) Do you expect parents to help the students with their homework?

Frequently ( ) Occasionally ( )

Discourage it ( ) No, never ( )

Why? Why not?

(138) (a) Does your school have computers which can be used as teaching and learning aids?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If applicable,

(b) Have you used these computers with your students?

(139) Do you use any of the following instructional aids in your classroom?

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (a) science laboratory | Yes ( ) | No ( ) |
| (b) self-paced learning programs | Yes ( ) | No ( ) |
| (c) curriculum-related trip extending over 2 days | Yes ( ) | No ( ) |

(d) special classroom exhibits and displays Yes ( ) No ( )

(e) audio-visual media instruments Yes ( ) No ( )

(f) modular learning packets Yes ( ) No ( )

(140) Before the school year begins, how do you obtain information on your students? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE IF THE TEACHER REVIEWS STUDENT RECORDS, CONTACTS OTHER TEACHERS, CONTACTS THE PARENTS.)

(141) (a) How do you evaluate student academic performance in the classroom?

(b) How do you evaluate student social development in the classroom?

(142) How are your evaluations reported to the student? To the parents?

(143) Do the students and their parents place a lot of emphasis on grades?

(144) (a) What criteria do you use for awarding grades? How do you decide which students will receive A's, B's, C's, D's.

(b) Is this a school policy?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(145) (a) Do you have parent-teacher conferences during the year?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) How often?

(c) What type of information concerning the student's performance is shared at these meetings?

(d) How have the parent-teacher conferences been helpful to you? Specifically, what information do you receive and what do you typically do with the information?

(e) Who attends these meetings? Is it mostly mothers, mostly fathers, or primarily mothers and fathers?

(f) What happens when a parent misses a parent/teacher conference?

(146) (a) Are standardized tests such as the Iowa Tests for Basic Skills or the Stanford Achievement Tests given to the students in the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

In your classroom?

(b) How are these scores reported to the students? Their parents?

(c) Do the parents place a great deal of emphasis on the results?

(d) Does the school place a great deal of emphasis on the results?

(e) Do you use the results of these standardized tests for diagnostic purposes, curricular changes, other?

(147) (a) How is your teaching performance evaluated?

(b) Upon what criteria have your evaluations been based?

(c) Are you satisfied with the evaluations you have received?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: PROBE CAREFULLY FOR WHY? WHY NOT?)

(148) How important is it to you that the parents and your colleagues perceive you as an effective teacher?

That completes the interview. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

## VI. INTERVIEWER COMMENTS

INTERVIEWER: PLEASE USE THIS SHEET TO MAKE COMENTS AFTER THE INTERVIEW. ANSWER THE QUESTIONS AS SPECIFICALLY AS YOU CAN.

(1) Describe any unusual circumstances leading up to the interview.

(2) Where was the interview held?

(3) How much privacy did you have?

(4) How did you feel before the interview? After the interview?

(5) Do you feel this was an informative interview?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(6) Do you feel there was some very important information you were unable to learn from the teacher? What made you feel this way?

## PARENT LEADER*

Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools (NIE Research Project)
Diana T. Slaughter, Ph.D. and Barbara L. Schneider, Ph.D.
Northwestern University
School of Education
June 23, 1983

Interviewer Initials ______________________

Focal School ______________________

Name ______________________

Job Title ______________________

Personnel Code Number ______________________

Time Period of Interview ______________________

| all No. | Date | Time | Result of Call | Date Interview Scheduled For | Date Interview Conducted | Date Interview Returned to Office | Date Quality Control on Interviw Assessment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | | | | | |
| 2 | | | | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | | |
| 4 | | | | | | | |
| 5 | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

COMMENTS: ______________________

*NO CHILD CURRENTLY ATTENDING THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

CODE NUMBER ______________________

Coding Margin*

## I. Demographic Data on Education and Occupational Experiences

Our study includes interviews with teachers, administrators and parents. We would like to begin by asking you a few general questions about yourself.

(1) INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX

Female ( ) Male ( )

(2) INTERVIEWER: RECORD ETHNIC GROUP

Black ( )
Hispanic ( )
Asian-American ( )
Native American ( )
White ( )
Other ( )

(3) (a) Mrs./Mr. __________, we would like to know from what institutions you have received your degrees, when, and major areas of specialization.

| Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |

(b) What are your educational plans your yourself now?

(4) Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| Child | Relation to Child (Natural or step Parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |

If yes, do or did your children attend a private elementary or secondary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why do or did you send your children to a private school?

Why don't you?

If no, if you had children, would you send them to a private school?

Why? Why not?

(5) (a) Mrs. _________, what would you say is the primary source of your family's income?

(b) What is the next major source of money to your family?

(6) (INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD A TO RESPONDENT AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER DESIGNATE.)

Which letter on this card best estimates the total family income in 1982?

a b c d e f g h i j

(7) What is the year of your birth?

(8) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood?

(9) Would you describe it as a

large city ( ) small city ( ) small town ( )

suburb ( ) rural area ( )

outside of the United States ( )

(10) Did you ever attend a private elementary or secondary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If yes,

(a) (a) elementary only ( ) (b) secondary only ( )

(c) elementary and secondary ( )

(b) At what ages?

(INTERVIEWER: IF THEY TRANSFERRED IN AND OUT OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS)

(c) What type of private school was it?

(11) Did you attend a racially desegregated school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(12) (a) What year did you come to Chicago?

(b) Why did you come at that time?

(13) How long have you lived at your present location?

(14) Do you belong to any local non-school related clubs or neighborhood groups such as the League of Women Voters?

Yes ( ) No ( )

If Yes: Name them.

(15) Have you ever held, or do you now hold, an office in any non-school club or neighborhood group to which you belong (belonged)?

Yes, more than once ( ) Yes, once ( )

No, never ( )

If Yes, name it.

CODE NUMBER ____________________

## II. Educational Goals

Now, we would like to learn about the educational goals you have for the students in this school.

(16) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in this school?

(17) How is this view of education reflected in the school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS.)

(18) Every school has a history. Do you know how your school was founded? Can you tell me a little bit about its history?

(19) (a) What traditions, rituals and so on, has the school maintained from its historical past?

(b) Why do you think these traditions have remained?

(20) (a) What do you perceive as the goals of your school?

(b) What do you perceive as the school's goals for students?

(21) Why do you think the school has adopted these goals?

(22) (a) Do faculty, staff and parents share the same views on school goals? Explain.

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(b) If No or Don't know, How are their views dissimilar?

(23) What do you, as a parent leader, expect from each new class of students?

(24) Where do students go after they have graduated from school's name? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR HIGH SCHOOL NAMES, COLLEGES.)

(25) What do you believe is the least amount of schooling a student should have?

(26) In general, what do you believe a student needs to know in order to get along in this world?

CODE NUMBER ______________________

## III. Parent Leader Participation

Now we would like to learn when and how parents, teachers and administrators interact in the life of this school on behalf of the students.

(27) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If Yes,

a great deal ( ) sometimes ( )

hardly at all ( ) never ( )

(28) On average, how many days per year have you volunteered work to this school in years previous to the present one? ______________________

(29) (a) In what capacities have you worked? What specifically do (did) you do?

(b) What is your specific role and responsibility as a parent leader in the school now?

(c) How did you become involved in the work? (INTERVIEWER: CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.)

self-nominated ( ) parent-nominated ( )

school-nominated ( ) child-nominated ( )

(d) How does your current life style limit, if it does, your volunteer time?

(e) All total, about how much revenue have you personally helped to raise for this school in the past year?

(30) Considering the work of yourself (and your husband), have you ever shared this work with the school (e.g., speak to students on career day, provide students with summer work)?

Yes, several times ( )     Yes, once ( )     No, never ( )

If Yes, What did you do, and how did it turn out?

(31) Are there standing groups or committees in the school with which parents are encouraged to participate? For example:

(32) Board of Trustees (Board of Directors)?

Yes ( )     No ( )

(33) Parent Council or Parent Advisory Group to Headmaster and/or Board?

Yes ( )     No ( )

(34) PTA or equivalent?

Yes ( )     No ( )

(35) Task-oriented subcommittees/groups?

Yes ( )     No ( )

(36) Other:

(37) What is usually the role of the teachers in these parent groups?

(38) Are there any committees in the school which only parents are encouraged to participate in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR NAME OF COMMITTEE AND FUNCTION.)

(39) How does one become a member of the Parent Council (or Board of Trustees)?

(40) How does one become an officer?

(41) Have you (or your husband) ever been both a member and an officer of any of the standing groups of the school which regularly include parents?

Yes ( )  No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: LIST THE GROUPS BELOW, INCLUDING OFFICE HELD, ETC.)

(42) As a member of ____________________, what did you do?

(43) As an officer of ____________________, what did you do?

(44) Do you personally know any of the current officers of any of these standing groups or committees?

Yes ( )  No ( )

(45) Did you help them to be nominated and/or elected?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(46) If Yes, Describe your efforts.

(47) What other types of school-related activities are both parents and teachers involved in, such as fund raising carnivals, special music or dance programs?

(48) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in this school?

Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )

Not close ( ) Don't know ( )

(49) Would you say that parents in this school:

(a) spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting ( )

(b) spend some time ( )

(c) spend little time ( )

(d) spend no time ( )

(e) don't know ( )

(50) Have you received any calls from parents?

Frequently ( ) Sometimes ( ) Hardly ever ( )

Not at all ( )

(51) (a) Have you made any calls to parents this year?

Quite a few ( ) Some ( ) None ( )

(b) If applicable, could you tell me something about the nature of these calls?

(52) Are parents encouraged to spend time observing in classrooms?

Frequently ( ) Sometimes ( )

Hardly ever ( ) Not at all ( )

(53) (a) Have you personally requested curricular changes (additions, deletions) in the school?

(b) If yes, Why? What happened? Are you satisfied with the outcomes? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO HAVE ONE INCIDENT DESCRIBED IN DETAIL.)

(54) Does your school involve parents in the selection of faculty or administrators?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(55) If Yes, Have you served on any faculty or staff search committees?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(56) If Yes, Describe your service.

(57) Are the parents very supportive of the headmaster (principal)?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(58) How would you characterize the ideal headmaster (principal)?

(59) (a) What do you perceive as the strengths of your headmaster (principal)?

(b) Weaknesses?

(60) (a) Do you feel there is a sense of community or "school spirit" within your school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(b) Do you believe there is an esprit de corps among the faculty?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

(61) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parents' job as far as helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER TEACHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE.)

(b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in students' education?

(62) How important is the child's home environment to his or her:

(a) academic performance in the classroom?

(b) social behavior particularly peer group interactions?

(c) How important is the home environment to a minority child's academic performance?

(d) How important is the home environment to a Black child's academic performance?

(e) Describe any special features you think a Black family should include in their overall educational program because their child is a Black American.

(63) Do you feel that any of your minority students have any special problems in school because they are minority students?

Yes ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(64) If yes, Could you tell me about them?

(65) What about students who are Black Americans? Do they have special problems in school because they are Black Americans?

Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( )

(66) If yes, Could you please tell me about them?

(67) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems later in school because they are Black Americans?

(68) (a) Do you think it is important for a teacher to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity in his or her students?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) What about Black Americans?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(c) If yes, what things should be done to accomplish this?

(69) (a) Where should a child receive information about his ethnic and racial identity?

(b) Where do you feel Black children should get information about Black Americans?

(70) Do you believe ____________________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

Why? Why not?

(71) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children?

Why? Why not?

(72) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?

A great deal ( ) Some ( ) None ( )

Why do you hold this view?

(73) What special ethnic or national holiday or commemorative events are celebrated in school? List. (INTERVIEWER: ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL ONES THAT THE SCHOOL CLOSES FOR?)

(74) Are there any events which might promote ethnic and racial identity that are not celebrated that you believe should be? List.

(75) Are there any changes, for example, curricular changes which would promote ethnic and racial diversity that you believe should be made in the school?

Why? Why not?

(76) (a) Do you believe that ____________ is a neighborhood school?

Yes ( ). No ( )

Why? Why not?

(b) What effect does this have on the social experiences of the children in the school?

(c) Do you believe that families of your students have much informal social contact with other families in your school?

(d) What reasons would you give for your answer?

(77) How important is it to have a "sense of community" within a school?

Why? Why not?

(78) If applicable, how does the school do this?

(79) Briefly, how would you characterize "school life" at
______________________ School?

(80) Do you think __________________ School is a good learning environment for all children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why? Why not?

NIE PROJECT
School of Education
Northwestern University
2003 Sheridan Road
Evanston, Illinois 60201

## GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS TO PARENT INTERVIEWERS

Spring, 1983

1. For each interview, you will need:

    a) a watch
    b) a clipboard
    c) a pen and a pencil
    d) a copy of the Parent Interview Schedule
    e) income (Card A), Tuition (Card B), academic progress (Card C), and Educational Attitude (Card D) Cards
    f) Parent Consent form

    Check to be certain you have these materials whenever you go into the field.

2. Keep one copy of the letter we initially sent to all parents to announce your plans to contact each parent for an interview appointment to identify yourself in the field, if necessary.

3. In your initial contact with each parent by telephone or otherwise in preparation for the interview, be sure to:

    a) identify yourself as working with the Private Schools study at Northwestern University being conducted by Drs. Diana Slaughter and Barbara Schneider in conjunction with name of school.

    b) arrange a time most convenient for the parent, preferably to begin at 9:30 a.m. or 1:00 p.m.

    c) tell the parent the interview will be held in the home; ask the parent to phone 492-3737 (mornings) or 492-3783 (afternoons) if an emergency arises and the appointment must be rescheduled.

    d) tell the parent the interview will take no more than 3 hours if uninterrupted and that you will arrive promptly.

    e) remind the parent that the purpose is to learn his/her opinions about the family's educational goals for their children.

4. If possible, call the parent about ½ hour before you plan to arrive to remind him/her that you will be coming.

5. Use the following statement only as a guide to introduce yoruself and the interview to each parent. You should present the information in a conversational tone to each parent in your own style, and according to the context in which you find yourself.

"Mrs./Mr. ______________________________, my name is __________________. I am a project assistant with the Private Schools study being conducted by Drs. Diana Slaughter and Barbara Schneider at Northwestern University in conjunction with child's name's school, name of school. The purpose of this parent interview is to learn your educational goals for child's name and other children in your family. The success of our study efforts depends upon our ability to understand the children's lives in each of their schools as the participants, like yourself, perceive them. The interview will take no more than 3 hours. Feel free to refuse to answer any questions. There are no right or wrong answers; we simply want your opinions. All information on you will be held confidential; a full report on all our families in general will be available three months after the end of the study, August, 1984. Do you have any questions? The interview will be conducted in your home. When would be a convenient time for me to visit you? (GET DIRECTIONS TO HOME)

6. Be sure you have memorized the interview so you can move as quickly as humanly possible, and still maintain a conversational tone. Maintain eye-contact with the parent whenever you ask a specific question.

7. If you do not complete the interview in the time you have, be sure you arrange before you leave some procedure for doing so, whether by telephone or return visit.

8. Be sure to thank the parent for the time when you finish the interview.

9. After the interview, be sure to:

   a) Fill out the Cooperation with the Interviewer form (p. 53 of the interview schedule) and the Parent Interviewer Checklist (1st sheet)

   b) Identify the focal student by code number.

c) Read through your script from the viewpoint of a coder, to be certain that someone else can understand exactly what the parent did say in response to any given question, even if you did not have a chance to write everything. Never paraphrase what a parent has said; write down as close as you can exactly what was said. Do this as soon after the interview as humanly possible, while the parent is still fresh in your memory.

d) Turn in your interviews for each week to either Dr. Slaughter, Dr. Schneider, or the project office assistant.

10. Use the following marks during the interview to indicate where you probed the parent.

a) "(X)" will mean you encouraged the parent to say more about a topic

b) "(?)" will mean you questioned the parent as to any other information on the topic

c) "(Your noun statement?)" will mean that you asked the parent a specific important question which has a central idea in it. You do not need to record your own question verbatim; just identify the central idea, plus question mark.

11. Contact Dr. Slaughter or Dr. Schneider if you have any questions as to procedure at each school.

12. Remember you will be phoned biweekly by Ms. Yongsook Lee and/or Dr. Slaughter and Dr. Schneider to learn your progress and to give you feedback on the quality of your interviews.

# Appendix E: Inter-Interview Question Comparabilities

Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools
(NIE Research Project)
Diana T. Slaughter, Ph.D. and Barbara L. Schneider, Ph.D.
School of Education
Northwestern University

COMPARABILITY: TEACHER AND PARENT LEADER INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

## TEACHER

I.

(2) INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX

Female ( ) Male ( )

(3) INTERVIEWER: RECORD ETHNIC GROUP

Black ( )
Hispanic ( )
Asian-American ( )
Native American ( )
White ( )
Other ( )

(6) (a) Mrs./Mr. ______________, we would like to know from what institutions you have received your degrees, when, and major areas of specialization.

| Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |
| 2. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |
| 3. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |
| 4. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |
| 5. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |

(b) What are your educational plans for yourself now?

(10) What is your year of birth?

## PARENT LEADER

(1) INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX

Female ( ) Male ( )

(2) INTERVIEWER: RECORD ETHNIC GROUP

Black ( )
Hispanic ( )
Asian-American ( )
Native American ( )
White ( )
Other ( )

(3) (a) Mrs./Mr. __________, we would like to know from what institutions you have received your degrees, when, and major areas of specialization.

| Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |
| 2. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |
| 3. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |
| 4. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |
| 5. ______________ | ____ | ______ | ______ |

(b) What are your educational plans your yourself now?

(7) What is the year of your birth?

## TEACHER

II.

(13) Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| Child | Relation to Child (Natural or step parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |

If yes, do or did your children attend a private elementary or secondary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why do or did you send your children to a private school?

Why don't you?

If no, if you had children, would you send them to a private school?

Why? Why not?

## PARENT LEADER

(4) Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| Child | Relation to Child (Natural or step Parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |

If yes, do or did your children attend a private elementary or secondary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Why do or did you send your children to a private school?

Why don't you?

If no, if you had children, would you send them to a private school?

Why? Why not?

| TEACHER | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| (14) (a) ______________, what would you say is the primary source of your family's income?<br>(b) What is the next major source of money to your family?<br>(INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD A TO RESPONDENT AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER DESIGNATE)<br>Which letter on this card best estimates your total family income in 1982?<br>a b c d e f g h i j | (5) (a) Mrs. _________, what would you say is the primary source of your family's income?<br>(b) What is the next major source of money to your family?<br>(6) (INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD A TO RESPONDENT AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER DESIGNATE.)<br>Which letter on this card best estimates the total family income in 1982?<br>a b c d e f g h i j |
| (15) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood? | (8) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood? |
| (16) Would you describe it as a<br>large city ( ) small city ( ) small town ( )<br>suburb ( ) rural area ( ) outside of the United States ( | (9) Would you describe it as a<br>large city ( ) small city ( ) small town ( )<br>suburb ( ) rural area ( )<br>outside of the United States ( ) |
| (17) (a) What year did you come to Chicago?<br>(b) Why did you come at that time? | (12) (a) What year did you come to Chicago?<br>(b) Why did you come at that time? |
| (18) How long have you lived at your present location? | (13) How long have you lived at your present location? |
| (19) (a) Do you belong to any local non-school related clubs or neighborhood groups such as the League of Women Voters?<br>(b) If yes, could you please name them for me? | (14) Do you belong to any local non-school related clubs or neighborhood groups such as the League of Women Voters?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If Yes: Name them. |

| TEACHER | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| **I.**<br>(21) Have you ever held, or do you now hold, an office in any professional organization or neighborhood group to which you belong (belonged)?<br>Yes, more than once ( ) Yes, once ( ) No, never ( )<br>If yes, could you please tell the name of the office or group? | (15) Have you ever held, or do you now hold, an office in any non-school club or neighborhood group to which you belong (belonged)?<br>Yes, more than once ( ) Yes, once ( )<br>No, never ( )<br>If Yes, name it. |
| **II.** (37) Did you ever attend a private elementary or secondary school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If yes,<br>(a) (a) elementary only ______ (b) secondary only _____<br>(c) elementary and secondary ______<br>(b) At what ages? ______________________ (INTERVIEWER: IF THEY TRANSFERRED IN AND OUT OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS)<br>(c) What type of private school was it? | (10) Did you ever attend a private elementary or secondary school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If yes,<br>(a) (a) elementary only ( ) (b) secondary only ( )<br>(c) elementary and secondary ( )<br>(b) At what ages?<br>(INTERVIEWER: IF THEY TRANSFERRED IN AND OUT OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS)<br>(c) What type of private school was it? |
| (38) Did you attend a racially desegregated school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) | (11) Did you attend a racially desegregated school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) |
| (51) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in your classroom? | (16) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in this school? |
| (52) How is this view of education reflected in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS.) | (17) How is this view of education reflected in the school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS.) |
| (53) Every school has a history, do you know how your school was founded? Can you tell me a little bit about its history? | (18) Every school has a history. Do you know how your school was founded? Can you tell me a little bit about its history? |

| TEACHER | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| I.<br>(54) (a) What traditions, rituals and so on, has the school maintained from its historical past?<br>(b) Why do you think these traditions have remained? | (19) (a) What traditions, rituals and so on, has the school maintained from its historical past?<br>(b) Why do you think these traditions have remained? |
| (55) (a) What do you perceive as the goals of your school? (i.e., what the administrators want for the school).<br>(b) What do you perceive as the schools' goals for students? | (20) (a) What do you perceive as the goals of your school?<br>(b) What do you perceive as the school's goals for students? |
| (56) Why do you think the school has adopted these goals? | (21) Why do you think the school has adopted these goals? |
| (62) What do you expect from each new class of students? | (23) What do you, as a parent leader, expect from each new class of students? |
| (65) (a) Do your colleagues share your views on school goals?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) | (22) (a) Do faculty, staff and parents share the same views on school goals? Explain.<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>(b) If No or Don't know, How are their views dissimilar? |
| (67) (a) Where do students go after they have graduated from school's name? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR HIGH SCHOOL NAMES, COLLEGES.) | (24) Where do students go after they have graduated from school's name? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR HIGH SCHOOL NAMES, COLLEGES.) |
| (68) What do you believe is the least amount of schooling a student should have? | (25) What do you believe is the least amount of schooling a student should have? |
| (69) In general, what do you believe a student needs to know in order to get along in this world? | (26) In general, what do you believe a student needs to know in order to get along in this world? |
| V.<br>(73) Are there any committees in the school which only parents are encouraged to participate in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR NAME OF COMMITTEE AND FUNCTION.) | (38) Are there any committees in the school which only parents are encouraged to participate in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR NAME OF COMMITTEE AND FUNCTION.) |

6

IV.

| TEACHER | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| (77) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) If yes,<br>a great deal ( ) sometimes ( )<br>hardly at all ( ) never ( ) | (27) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) If Yes,<br>a great deal ( ) sometimes ( )<br>hardly at all ( ) never ( ) |
| (79) (a) What other types of school-related activities are both parents and teachers involved in, such as fund raising carnivals, special music or dance programs? | (47) What other types of school-related activities are both parents and teachers involved in, such as fund raising carnivals, special music or dance programs? |
| (81) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in this school?<br>Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )<br>Not Close ( ) Don't know ( ) | (48) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in this school?<br>Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )<br>Not close ( ) Don't know ( ) |
| (82) Would you say that parents in this school:<br>(a) spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting ( )<br>(b) spend some time ( )<br>(c) spend little time ( )<br>(d) spend no time ( )<br>(e) don't know ( ) | (49) Would you say that parents in this school:<br>(a) spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting ( )<br>(b) spend some time ( )<br>(c) spend little time ( )<br>(d) spend no time ( )<br>(e) don't know ( ) |
| (83) Are parents encouraged to spend time observing in classrooms?<br>Frequently ( ) Sometimes ( )<br>Hardly ever ( ) Not at all ( ) | (52) Are parents encouraged to spend time observing in classrooms?<br>Frequently ( ) Sometimes ( )<br>Hardly ever ( ) Not at all ( ) |

| TEACHER | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| IV. (88) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parents' job as far as helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER TEACHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE.) | (61) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parents' job as far as helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER TEACHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE.) |
| (88) (b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in your students' education? | (61) (b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in students' education? |
| (89) How important is the child's home environment to his or her:<br>(a) academic performance in the classroom<br>(b) social behavior particularly peer group interactions<br>(c) How important is the home environment to a minority child's academic performance?<br>(d) How important is the home environment to a Black child's academic performance?<br>(e) Describe any special features you think a Black family should include in their overall educational program because their child is a Black American. | (62) How important is the child's home environment to his or her:<br>(a) academic performance in the classroom?<br>(b) social behavior particularly peer group interactions?<br>(c) How important is the home environment to a minority child's academic performance?<br>(d) How important is the home environment to a Black child's academic performance?<br>(e) Describe any special features you think a Black family should include in their overall educational program because their child is a Black American. |
| (93) (a) Do you feel there is a sense of community or "school spirit" within your school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? | (60) (a) Do you feel there is a sense of community or "school spirit" within your school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? |
| (b) Do you believe there is an esprit de corps among the faculty?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? | (b) Do you believe there is an esprit de corps among the faculty?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? |

| TEACHER | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| IV. (98) Are the parents very supportive of the headmaster (principal)?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not | (57) Are the parents very supportive of the headmaster (principal)?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? |
| (99) How would you characterize the ideal headmaster (principal)? | (58) How would you characterize the ideal headmaster (principal)? |
| (100) (a) What do you perceive as the strengths of your headmaster (principal)?<br>(b) Weaknesses? | (59) (a) What do you perceive as the strengths of your headmaster (principal)?<br>(b) Weaknesses? |
| (108) Do you feel that any of your minority students have any special problems in school because they are minority students?<br>Yes ( ) Yes, a few ( )<br>No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>(109) If yes, could you tell me about them? | (63) Do you feel that any of your minority students have any special problems in school because they are minority students?<br>Yes ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>(64) If yes, Could you tell me about them? |
| (110) What about your students who are Black Americans? Do they have any special problems in school because they are Black Americans?<br>Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( )<br>(111) Could you please tell me about them? | (65) What about students who are Black Americans? Do they have special problems in school because they are Black Americans?<br>Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( )<br>(66) If yes, Could you please tell me about them? |
| (112) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems later in school because they are Black Americans? | (67) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems later in school because they are Black Americans? |
| (113) (a) Do you think it is important for a teacher to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity in his or her students?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) What about Black Americans?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(c) If yes, what things should be done to accomplish this? | (68) (a) Do you think it is important for a teacher to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity in his or her students?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) What about Black Americans?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(c) If yes, what things should be done to accomplish this? |

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| TEACHER | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| (114) (a) Where should a child receive information about their ethnic and racial identities?<br>(b) Where do you feel Black children should get information about Black Americans? | (69) (a) Where should a child receive information about his ethnic and racial identity?<br>(b) Where do you feel Black children should get information about Black Americans? |
| (115) Do you believe __________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school?<br>Yes (   ) No (   ) Don't know (   )<br>Why? Why not? | (70) Do you believe __________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school?<br>Yes (   ) No (   ) Don't know (   )<br>Why? Why not? |
| (116) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children?<br>Why? Why not? | (71) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children?<br>Why? Why not? |
| (117) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?<br>A great deal (   ) Somewhat (   ) None (   )<br>Why do you hold this view? | (72) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?<br>A great deal (   ) Some (   ) None (   )<br>Why do you hold this view? |
| (118) What special ethnic or national holiday or commemorative events are celebrated in school? List. (INTERVIEWER: ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL ONES THAT THE SCHOOL CLOSES FOR?) | (73) What special ethnic or national holiday or commemorative events are celebrated in school? List. (INTERVIEWER: ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL ONES THAT THE SCHOOL CLOSES FOR?) |
| (119) Are there any events which might promote ethnic and racial identity that are not celebrated that you believe should be? List. | (74) Are there any events which might promote ethnic and racial identity that are not celebrated that you believe should be? List. |
| (120) Are there any changes, for example curricular changes which would promote ethnic and racial diversity that you believe should be made in the school?<br>Why? Why not? | (75) Are there any changes, for example, curricular changes which would promote ethnic and racial diversity that you believe should be made in the school?<br>Why? Why not? |

| TEACHER | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| V.<br>(121) (a) Do you believe that __________ is a neighborhood school?<br>Why? Why not?<br>(b) What effect does this have on the social experiences of the children in the school?<br>(c) Do you believe that families of your students have much informal social contact with other families in your school?<br>(d) What reasons would you give for your answer? | (76) (a) Do you believe that __________ is a neighborhood school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not?<br>(b) What effect does this have on the social experiences of the children in the school?<br>(c) Do you believe that families of your students have much informal social contact with other families in your school?<br>(d) What reasons would you give for your answer? |
| (122) How important is it to have a "sense of community" within a school?<br>Why? Why not?<br>(123) If applicable, how does the school do this? | (77) How important is it to have a "sense of community" within a school?<br>Why? Why not?<br>(78) If applicable, how does the school do this? |
| (124) How would you characterize "school life" at __________ School? | (79) Briefly, how would you characterize "school life" at __________ School? |
| (125) Do you think __________ School is a good learning environment for all children?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? | (80) Do you think __________ School is a good learning environment for all children?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? |

## PARENT

**II.**

**(3)**

Mrs. ______________, we would like to know who child's name lives with. I am going to ask you for the name (s), sex (es), and age(s) of other adults and children here in your family's household. I am also going to ask you their specific family relation to child's name. If there are other children, I need to know the name of the school they attend, and their grade level.

| NAME | RELATION TO CHILD | SEX | AGE | (For Children Only: CURRENT SCHOOL ATT AND GRADE LEVEL) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

(10) (a) Mrs. ________, what would you say is the primary source of your family's income? ______________________________

(b) What is the next major source of money to your family? __________

(11) Which letter on this card best estimates the total family income in 1982?

a b c d e f g h i j

(14) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood?

## PARENT LEADER

(4) Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| Child | Relation to Child (Natural or step Parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |

If yes, do or did your children attend a private elementary or secondary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(5) (a) Mrs. ________, what would you say is the primary source of your family's income?

(b) What is the next major source of money to your family?

(6) Which letter on this card best estimates the total family income in 1982?

a b c d e f g h i j

(8) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood?

| PARENT | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| (15) Would you say it was a large city like Chicago; a small city; a small town; or "the country"?<br>Large city ( ) Small city ( ) Small town ( ) Country( )<br>(16) Describe your home town where you were raised. (OR) What was Chicago like when you were growing up? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE HOW MOTHER SEES THAT TIME AS SIMILAR TO AND DIFFERENT FROM CHICAGO AS IT IS NOW.) | (9) Would you describe it as a<br>large city ( ) small city ( ) small town ( )<br>suburb ( ) rural area ( )<br>outside of the United States ( ) |
| (17) What year did you come to Chicago? ______<br>(18) Why did you come at that time? (PROBE IF "JOB CHANGE" GIVEN AS REASON FOR WHOSE JOB, MOTHER OR FATHER.) | (12) (a) What year did you come to Chicago?<br>(b) Why did you come at that time? |
| (23) About how long have you lived at this location? ______ | (13) How long have you lived at your present location? |
| 29) Do you belong to any local non-school related clubs or neighborhood groups such as the League of Women Voters? ______<br>If Yes: Name them. | (14) Do you belong to any local non-school related clubs or neighborhood groups such as the League of Women Voters?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If Yes: Name them. |
| (30) Have you ever held, or do you now hold, an office in any non-school club or neighborhood group to which you belong (belonged)?<br>Yes, more than once ( ) Yes, once ( ) No, never ( )<br>If Yes: Name it. | (15) Have you ever held, or do you now hold, an office in any non-school club or neighborhood group to which you belong (belonged)?<br>Yes, more than once ( ) Yes, once ( )<br>No, never ( )<br>If Yes, name it. |

| PARENT | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| II. (33) Did you ever attend a private school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(34) If Yes: During what ages? ____________ | (10) Did you ever attend a private elementary or secondary school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If yes,<br>(a) (a) elementary only ( ) (b) secondary only ( )<br>(c) elementary and secondary ( )<br>(b) At what ages?<br>(INTERVIEWER: IF THEY TRANSFERRED IN AND OUT OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS)<br>(c) What type of private school was it? |
| (37) Did you attend a racially desegregated elementary school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) | (11) Did you attend a racially desegregated school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) |
| (63) At this time, what is your idea of the essential elements of a quality education for your child? (PROBE FOR SOCIALIZATION ELEMENTS IN PARTICULAR - PREFERRED TEACHERS, STUDENT COMPOSITION, etc.) | (16) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in this school? |
| (64) How is this view of education reflected in your family's decision to send child's name to a private school? Specifically, how does the school your child attends compare with your "ideal school"? | (17) How is this view of education reflected in the school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS.) |
| (66b) In general, what do you feel your child needs to know in order to get along in this world? | (26) In general, what do you believe a student needs to know in order to get along in this world? |
| (71) What is the least amount of schooling that you think he/she must have? | (25) What do you believe is the least amount of schooling a student should have? |

## PARENT

**IV.**

Are there standing groups or committees in the school with which parents are encouraged to participate? For example:

(83) Board of Trustees (Board of Directors)? Yes ( ) No ( )

(84) Parent Council or Parent Advisory Group to Headmaster and/or Board?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(85) PTA or equivalent? Yes ( ) No ( )

(86) Task-oriented subcommittees/groups? Yes ( ) No ( )

(87) Other ________________________________

(88) How does one become a member?

(89) How does one become an officer?

(90) Have your (or your husband) ever been a member of any of these standing groups?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(91) Officer? Yes ( ) No ( )

(IF no to QUESTIONS 90 AND 91, SKIP TO QUESTION 94.)
(IF YES TO BEING A MEMBER OR OFFICER: INTERVIEWER LIST THE GROUPS BELOW, INCLUDING OFFICE HELD, ETC.)

(92) As a member of ________________, what did you do?

(93) As an officer of ____________, what did you accomplish?

## PARENT LEADER

(31) Are there standing groups or committees in the school with which parents are encouraged to participate? For example:

(32) Board of Trustees (Board of Directors)?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(33) Parent Council or Parent Advisory Group to Headmaster and/or Board?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(34) PTA or equivalent?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(35) Task-oriented subcommittees/groups?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(36) Other:

(39) How does one become a member of the Parent Council (or Board of Trustees)?

(40) How does one become an officer?

(41) Have you (or your husband) ever been both a member and an officer of any of the standing groups of the school which regularly include parents?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: LIST THE GROUPS BELOW, INCLUDING OFFICE HELD, ETC.)

As a member of __________________, what did you do?

(43) As an officer of ________________, what did you do?

| PARENT | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| I.<br>4) Do you personally know any of the current officers of any of these standing groups or committees? Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( ) | (44) Do you personally know any of the current officers of any of these standing groups or committees?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) |
| (95) Did you help any of them to be nominated and/or elected?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(56) If Yes: Describe your efforts. | (45) Did you help them to be nominated and/or elected?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(46) If Yes, Describe your efforts. |
| 97) Does your school involve parents in the selection of faculty or administrators?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>98) If Yes: Have your served as a parent representative on any faculty or staff search committees? Yes ( ) No ( )<br>99) If Yes: Describe your service. | (54) Does your school involve parents in the selection of faculty or administrators?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>(55) If Yes, Have you served on any faculty or staff search committees?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(56) If Yes, Describe your service. |
| (100) In many schools like this one, parents do volunteer work. Do parents of your child's school do volunteer work?<br>Yes, always Yes, sometimes No | (27) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) If Yes,<br>a great deal ( ) sometimes ( )<br>hardly at all ( ) never ( ) |
| (104)<br>On average, how many days per year have you volunteered work to this school in years previous to the present one? ______________ | (28) On average, how many days per year have you volunteered work to this school in years previous to the present one? ______________ |
| (105) In what capacities have you worked? What specifically do(did) you do? | (29) (a) In what capacities have you worked? What specifically do (did) you do? |

| PARENT | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| I.<br>How did you become involved in the work? (INTERVIEWER, CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.)<br>06) Self-nominated ______ Parent-nominated ______<br>School-nominated ______ Child-nominated ______ | (29) (c) How did you become involved in the work? (INTERVIEWER: CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.)<br>self-nominated ( ) parent-nominated ( )<br>school-nominated ( ) child-nominated ( ) |
| 0) How does your current life style limit, if it does, your volunteer time? | (29) (d) How does your current life style limit, if it does, your volunteer time? |
| ) Considering the work of yourself (and your husband), have you ever shared this work with the school (e.g., speak to students on career day, provide students with summer work)?<br>Yes, several times ______ Yes, once ______ No, never ______<br>If Yes:<br>) What did you do, and how did it turn out? | (30) Considering the work of yourself (and your husband), have you ever shared this work with the school (e.g., speak to students on career day, provide students with summer work)?<br>Yes, several times ( ) Yes, once ( ) No, never ( )<br>If Yes, What did you do, and how did it turn out? |
| 4) Do you feel there is a sense of community or "school spirit" within your child's school? Why or why not? | (60) (a) Do you feel there is a sense of community or "school spirit" within your school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? |
| 6) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in child's name 's school? (INTERVIEWER READ PROBES.)<br>Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )<br>Don't know ( ) Not close ( ) | (48) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in this school?<br>Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )<br>Not close ( ) Don't know ( ) |

| PARENT | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| **IV.** (127) Would you say that parents in child's name 's school:<br>a. spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting, etc.?<br>b. spend some time?<br>c. spend little time?<br>d. spend no time?<br>e. don't know. | (49) Would you say that parents in this school:<br>(a) spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting ( )<br>(b) spend some time ( )<br>(c) spend little time ( )<br>(d) spend no time ( )<br>(e) don't know ( ) |
| (130) Given your involvement with child's name 's school, please briefly tell me what you know about the origin and purpose(s) of the school? | (18) Every school has a history. Do you know how your school was founded? Can you tell me a little bit about its history? |
| **V.** (180) To your knowledge, what special ethnic or national holidays or commemorative events are celebrated in school? List. (PROBE: ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL ONES THAT THE SCHOOL CLOSES FOR?) | (73) What special ethnic or national holiday or commemorative events are celebrated in school? List. (INTERVIEWER: ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL ONES THAT THE SCHOOL CLOSES FOR?) |
| 181) Are there any that are not celebrated that you believe should be? List. | (74) Are there any events which might promote ethnic and racial identity that are not celebrated that you believe should be? List. |
| (182) Do you feel your child attends an ethnically and racially integrated school? Why or why not?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( ) | (70) Do you believe ________________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>Why? Why not? |
| (190) Have you personally requested curricular changes (additions, deletions) in the school?<br>Never _____ Once or twice _______ More than twice _____<br>191) If yes: Why? What happened? Are you satisfied with the outcomes? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO HAVE ONE INCIDENT DESCRIBED IN DETAIL.) | (53) (a) Have you personally requested curricular changes (additions, deletions) in the school?<br>(b) If yes, Why? What happened? Are you satisfied with the outcomes? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO HAVE ONE INCIDENT DESCRIBED IN DETAIL.) |

| PARENT | PARENT LEADER |
|---|---|
| **VI.**<br>(228) Do you and/or the other family members have much informal social contact with other families in your child's school?<br>Yes, considerable ( ) Yes, some ( ) Very little ( )<br>Almost none at all ( )<br>(229) What reasons would you give for your answer? | (76)(c) Do you believe that families of your students have much informal social contact with other families in your school?<br>(d) What reasons would you give for your answer? |
| (231) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in child's name's education? | (61)b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in students' education? |
| (253) Has the experience of an ethnically and racially diverse private school in any way influenced your opinion about quality education?<br>Yes, a great deal ( ) Yes, somewhat ( ) No, very little (<br>No, not at all ( )<br>(254) Why do you hold this view? | (72) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?<br>A great deal ( ) Some ( ) None ( )<br>Why do you hold this view? |
| (257) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children? Why or why not? | (71) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children?<br>Why? Why not? |
| **III.**<br>(55) What do you think the difference is between the teacher's job and the parent's job, as far as helping children to learn? (PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER MOTHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE AND DISTINCT.) | (61) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parents' job as far as helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER TEACHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE.) |

Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools
(NIE Research Project)
Diana T. Slaughter, Ph.D. and Barbara Schneider, Ph.D.
School of Education
Northwestern University

COMPARABILITY: ADMINISTRATOR AND PARENT INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

## ADMINISTRATOR

I

(4) What are your educational plans for your self now?

(5) What is your year of birth?

(6) Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| Child | Relation to child (Natural or step parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

II.

(13) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in this school?

(14) How is this view of education reflected in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS)

(15) Could you tell us something about the history of ________ School? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR WHEN IT WAS FOUNDED, ITS ORIGINAL EDUCATIONAL GOALS. DID THESE GOALS CHANGE OVER TIME? WHY?)

## PARENT

(48) What are your educational plans for yourself now?

(3)

Mrs. ________________, we would like to know who child's name lives with. I am going to ask you for the name (s), sex (es), and age(s) of other adults and children here in your family's household. I am also going to ask you their specific family relation to child's name. If there are other children, I need to know the name of the school they attend, and their grade level.

| NAME | RELATION TO CHILD | SEX | AGE | (For Children Onl CURRENT SCHOOL A AND GRADE LEVEL) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

(63) At this time, what is your idea of the essential elements of a quality education for your child? (PROBE FOR SOCIALIZATION ELEMENTS IN PARTICULAR - PREFERRED TEACHERS, STUDENT COMPOSITION, etc.)

(64) How is this view of education reflected in your family's decision to send child's name to a private school? Specifically, how does the school your child attends compare with your "ideal school"?

(130) Given your involvement with child's name 's school, please briefly tell me what you know about the origin and purpose(s) of the school?

| ADMINISTRATOR | PARENT |
|---|---|
| II.<br>(21) What are the policy, academic and social committees which parents, teachers and students can belong to in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR FUNCTIONS OF COMMITTEES, HOW PEOPLE ARE ENCOURAGED TO JOIN)<br>(a) Policy Committees<br>Participants<br>Function<br>(b) Social Committees<br>Participants<br>Function | Are there standing groups or committees in the school with which parents are encouraged to participate? For example:<br>(83) Board of Trustees (Board of Directors)? Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(84) Parent Council or Parent Advisory Group to Headmaster and/or Board?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(85) PTA or equivalent? Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(86) Task-oriented subcommittees/groups? Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(87) Other ____________________ |
| (22) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) If yes,<br>a great deal ( ) sometimes ( ) hardly at all ( )<br>(c) Why? Why not? | (100) In many schools like this one, parents do volunteer work. Do parents of your child's school do volunteer work?<br>Yes, always ______ Yes, sometimes ________ No __________ |
| (24) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in this school?<br>very close ( ) close ( ) somewhat close ( )<br>not close ( ) don't know ( ) | (126) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in child's name ____'s school? (INTERVIEWER READ PROBES.)<br>Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )<br>Don't know ( ) Not close ( ) |

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## PARENT

II.

3) Mrs. ________________, we would like to know who child's name lives with. I am going to ask you for the name (s), sex (es), and age(s) of other adults and children here in your family's household. I am also going to ask you their specific family relation to child's name. If there are other children, I need to know the name of the school they attend, and their grade level.

| | NAME | RELATION TO CHILD | SEX | AGE | (For Children Only: CURRENT SCHOOL ATTENDED AND GRADE LEVEL) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | | | |
| 2. | | | | | |
| 3. | | | | | |
| 4. | | | | | |
| 5. | | | | | |

INTERVIEWER: CONTINUE ON THE BACK OF THIS SHEET IF NECESSARY/RECORD ANY SPECIAL FAMILY LIVING CIRCUMSTANCES.

## TEACHER

(10) What is your year of birth?

(12) What is your marital status?

Single ( )

Married ( )

Divorced ( )

Spouse deceased ( )

(13)

Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| | Child | Relation to Child (Natural or step parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | | |
| 2. | | | | |
| 3. | | | | |
| 4. | | | | |
| 5. | | | | |

## PARENT

II.
(6a)

Mrs. __________, what is the highest grade in school that you have completed

at the present time? ______________________________

(6) (e) How would you describe your general health?

CIRCLE ONE: Excellent Average Below average

(10) (a) Mrs. __________, what would you say is the primary source of your family's income? ______________________________

(b) What is the next major source of money to your family? __________

______________________________

(INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD A TO RESPONDENT AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER DESIGNATE.)

(11) Which letter on this card best estimates the total family income in 1982?

a b c d e f g h i

(14) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood?

______________________________

## TEACHER

(6) (a) Mrs./Mr. ______________, we would like to know from what institutions you have received your degrees, when, and major areas of specialization.

| | Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | | |
| 2. | | | | |
| 3. | | | | |
| 4. | | | | |
| 5. | | | | |

(11) How would you describe your general health?

CIRCLE ONE: Excellent Average Below Average

(14) (a) ______________, what would you say is the primary source of your family's income?

(b) What is the next major source of money to your family?

(INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD A TO RESPONDENT AND CIRCLE APPROPRIATE LETTER DESIGNATE)

Which letter on this card best estimates your total family income in 1982?

a b c d e f g h i j

(15) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood?

| ADMINISTRATOR | PARENT |
|---|---|
| I.<br>26) Would you say that parents in this school:<br>spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting ( )<br>spend some time ( )<br>spend little time ( )<br>spend no time ( )<br>don't know ( ) | (127) Would you say that parents in child's name 's school:<br>a. spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting, etc.?<br>b. spend some time?<br>c. spend little time?<br>d. spend no time?<br>e. don't know. |
| 29) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parent's job in helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER ADMINISTRATOR SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE) | (55) What do you think the difference is between the teacher's job and the parent's job, as far as helping children to learn? (PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER MOTHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE AND DISTINCT.) |
| (29) (b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in your students' education? | (231) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in child's name's education? |
| (41) Do you think it is important for the school to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity for their students?<br>If yes, how should the school accomplish this? | (255)<br>What has been, in your view, the role of your child's school in helping him(her) to achieve a positive racial and ethnic identity? (PROBE: SHOULD IT HAVE A GREATER OR LESSER ROLE, WHY OR WHY NOT?) |
| (42) Do you believe __________________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school? Why? Why not? | (182) Do you feel your child attends an ethnically and racially integrated school? Why or why not?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( ) |
| (43) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?<br>a great deal ( ) some ( ) none ( )<br>Why do you hold this view? | 253) Has the experience of an ethnically and racially diverse private school in any way influenced your opinion about quality education?<br>Yes, a great deal ( ) Yes, somewhat ( ) No, very little (<br>No, not at all ( )<br>254) Why do you hold this view? |

| PARENT | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| II.<br>(15) Would you say it was a large city like Chicago; a small city; a small town; or "the country"?<br>Large city ( ) Small city ( ) Small town ( ) Country( )<br>(16) Describe your home town where you were raised. (OR) What was Chicago like when you were growing up? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE HOW MOTHER SEES THAT TIME AS SIMILAR TO AND DIFFERENT FROM CHICAGO AS IT IS NOW.)<br>(14) What is the name of the place in which you spent most of your childhood? | (16)<br>Would you describe it as a<br>large city ( ) small city ( ) small town ( )<br>suburb ( ) rural area ( ) outside of the United States ( ) |
| (17) What year did you come to Chicago? ________________ | (17) (a) What year did you come to Chicago? |
| (18) Why did you come at that time? (PROBE IF "JOB CHANGE" GIVEN AS REASON FOR WHOSE JOB, MOTHER OR FATHER.) | (17) (b) Why did you come at that time? |
| (23) About how long have you lived at this location? ________________ | (18) How long have you lived at your present location? |
| (29) Do you belong to any local non-school related clubs or neighborhood groups such as the League of Women Voters? ________________<br>If Yes: Name them. | (19) (a) Do you belong to any local non-school related clubs or neighborhood groups such as the League of Women Voters?<br>(b) If yes, could you please name them for me? |
| (30) Have you ever held, or do you now hold, an office in any non-school club or neighborhood group to which you belong (belonged)?<br>Yes, more than once ( ) Yes, once ( ) No, never ( )<br>If Yes: Name it. | (21) Have you ever held, or do you now hold, an office in any professional organization or neighborhood group to which you belong (belonged)?<br>Yes, more than once ( ) Yes, once ( ) No, never ( )<br>If yes, could you please tell the name of the office or group? |

| PARENT | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| (33) Did you ever attend a private school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(34) If Yes: During what ages? ____________ | (37) Did you ever attend a private elementary or secondary school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If yes,<br>(a) (a) elementary only _____ (b) secondary only _____<br>(c) elementary and secondary _____<br>(b) At what ages? ____________ (INTERVIEWER: IF THEY TRANSFERRED IN AND OUT OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS) |
| ) What did you like about elementary school (grades kindergarten through eight)? | (39) What did you like best about elementary school (grades kindergarten through eight)? |
| 36) What did you like least of all? | (40) What did you like least of all? |
| 7) Did you attend a racially desegregated elementary school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) | (38) Did you attend a racially desegregated school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) |
| 1) What was your best teacher like? (INTERVIEWER, PROBE TO FIND REASON FOR THE CHOICE, QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIP RECALLED.) | (41) a) What was your best teacher like? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO FIND REASON FOR THE CHOICE, QUALITY OF RELATIONSHIP RECALLED.) |
| 42) How did your teachers discipline the classes? | (42) How did your teachers discipline the classes? |
| ) Do you remember any exciting class projects, books or assignments? Describe. | (43) Do you remember any exciting class projects, books or assignments? Describe. |
| 4) Thinking back to your own school days, what would you most want to change if you could relive them? | (44) Thinking back to your own school days, what would you most want to change if you could relive them? |
| 5) Do you remember what your parents hoped you would be when you grew up? | (46) (a) Do you remember what your parents hoped you would be when you grew up? |
| (46a) What did you want to be? | (46) (b) What did you want to be? |
| [illegible] What are your educational plans for yourself now? | (6) (b) What are your educational plans for yourself now? |

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| PARENT | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| (49) Overall how satisfied are you with the quality of education you received? (INTERVIEWER READ PROBES BELOW.)<br>Very satisfied ( ) Fairly satisfied ( ) Satisfied ( )<br>Not satisfied ( ) Very dissatisfied ( ) | (45) (a) How satisfied are you with the quality of education you received? (INTERVIEWER READ PROBES BELOW.)<br>Very satisfied ( ) Fairly satisfied ( )<br>Satisfied ( ) Not satisfied ( )<br>Very dissatisfied ( ) |
| (55) What do you think the difference is between the teacher's job and the parent's job, as far as helping children to learn? (PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER MOTHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE AND DISTINCT.) | (88) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parents' job as far as helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER TEACHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE.) |
| (63) At this time, what is your idea of the essential elements of a quality education for your child? (PROBE FOR SOCIALIZATION ELEMENTS IN PARTICULAR - PREFERRED TEACHERS, STUDENT COMPOSITION, etc.) | (51) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in your classroom? |
| 64) How is this view of education reflected in your family's decision to send child's name to a private school? Specifically, how does the school your child attends compare with your "ideal school"? | (52) How is this view of education reflected in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS.) |
| (66a) Identify and list at least four qualities you and your family would like to see developed in your child as a result of the education he(she) is receiving. | (59) Could you identify and list at least four personal qualities you try to develop in your students? |
| (66b) . In general, what do you feel your child needs to know in order to get along in this world? | (69) In general, what do you believe a student needs to know in order to get along in this world? |
| (71) What is the least amount of schooling that you think he/she must have? | (68) What do you believe is the least amount of schooling a student should have? |

PARENT

IV.

Are there standing groups or committees in the school with which parents are encouraged to participate? For example:

(83) Board of Trustees (Board of Directors)? Yes ( ) No ( )

(84) Parent Council or Parent Advisory Group to Headmaster and/or Board?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(85) PTA or equivalent? Yes ( ) No ( )

(86) Task-oriented subcommittees/groups? Yes ( ) No ( )

(87) Other ____________________

(84) Parent Council or Parent Advisory Group to Headmaster and/or Board?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(85) PTA or equivalent? Yes ( ) No ( )

(87) Other ____________________

(97) Does your school involve parents in the selection of faculty or administrators?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

(98) If Yes: Have your served as a parent representative on any faculty or staff search committees? Yes ( ) No ( )

(99) If Yes: Describe your service.

TEACHER 7

(70) (a) Are there any standing policy committees which teachers belong to?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) Could you please list them for me?

(c) Are parents encouraged to belong to these committees?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(71) What is the function of these committees?

(73) Are there any committees in the school which only parents are encouraged to participate in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR NAME OF COMMITTEE AND FUNCTION.)

(75) (a) Are teachers involved in the selection of "new teachers" for the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes, how are they involved?

(76) (a) Are teachers involved in the selection of a new "headmaster" or "principal" for the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes, how are they involved?

| PARENTS | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| IV.<br>(100) In many schools like this one, parents do volunteer work. Do parents of your child's school do volunteer work?<br>Yes, always ______ Yes, sometimes ________ No ____________ | (77) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) If yes,<br>a great deal ( ) sometimes ( )<br>hardly at all ( ) never ( ) |
| (105) In what capacities have you worked? What specifically do(did) you do?<br>(112) About how many special events in which your child(ren) participated did you attend this past 82-83 year?<br>None ___ 1-2 ___ 3-4 ___ 5-7 ___ 7 or more ___<br>If 1-2 or more:<br>(113) Describe 1-2 of them that were particularly gratifying to you. (Event, role of child, reason(s) for satisfaction). | (79) (a) What other types of school-related activities are both parents and teachers involved in, such as fund raising carnivals, special music or dance programs?<br>(b) (IF APPLICABLE.) Are these activities primarily for fun? |
| (105) In what capacities have you worked? What specifically do(did) you do?<br>(114) Considering the work of yourself (and your husband), have you ever shared this work with the school (e.g., speak to students on career day, provide students with summer work)?<br>Yes, several times ______ Yes, once ________ No, never __________<br>If Yes:<br>(115) What did you do, and how did it turn out? | (78) (a) What types of activities are the parents involved in?<br>For example, "Career Day." |

## PARENT

(120) How many parent-teacher conferences about your child's school progress did you have this past year?

None _____ 1-2 _____ 3-4 _____ 5 or more _____

If 1-2 or more:

(121) Did anyone (e.g., child's father) besides you ever attend these conferences? How often?

(122) Describe other specific ways you depend upon to get information about your child's progress in school. When do you usually get this feedback and who gives it?

(123) Here is a list. (INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD C TO RESPONDENT.) Which three of the following do you rely upon most to give you some idea of child's name 's academic progress? Please rank the top three in order of first to third preference.

a. _____ samples of schoolwork (e.g., graded papers brought home)

b. _____ grade cards

c. _____ individual letters

d. _____ phone calls to/from teachers

e. _____ results of achievement testing

f. _____ classroom observation

g. _____ child reports (informal)

h. _____ individual face-to-face parent-teacher (headmaster) conferences

i. _____ grade level meetings

(123) Here is a list. (INTERVIEWER: GIVE CARD C TO RESPONDENT.) Which three of the following do you rely upon most to give you some idea of child's name 's academic progress? Please rank the top three in order of first to third preference.

e. _____ results of achievement testing

## TEACHER

(145) (a) Do you have parent-teacher conferences during the year?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) How often?

(c) What type of information concerning the student's performance is shared at these meetings?

(e) Who attends these meetings? Is it mostly mothers, mostly fathers, or primarily mothers and fathers?

(141) (a) How do you evaluate student academic performance in the classroom?

(146) (a) Are standardized tests such as the Iowa Tests for Basic Skills or the Stanford Achievement Tests given to the students in the school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(c) Do the parents place a great deal of emphasis on the results?

| PARENT | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| **IV.**<br>(124) Do you feel there is a sense of community or "school spirit" within your child's school? Why or why not? | (93) (a) Do you feel there is a sense of community or "school spirit" within your school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? |
| (126) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in child's name 's school? (INTERVIEWER READ PROBES.)<br>Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )<br>Don't know ( ) Not close ( ) | (81) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in this school?<br>Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )<br>Not Close ( ) Don't know ( ) |
| (127) Would you say that parents in child's name 's school:<br>a. spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting, etc.?<br>b. spend some time?<br>c. spend little time?<br>d. spend no time?<br>e. don't know. | (82) Would you say that parents in this school:<br>(a) spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting ( )<br>(b) spend some time ( )<br>(c) spend little time ( )<br>(d) spend no time ( )<br>(e) don't know ( ) |
| (130) Given your involvement with child's name 's school, please briefly tell me what you know about the origin and purpose(s) of the school? | (53) Every school has a history, do you know how your school was founded? Can you tell me a little bit about its history?<br>(55) (a) What do you perceive as the goals of your school? (i.e., what the administrators want for the school). |
| (131) What one thing have you been most surprised to learn about child's name 's school since his(her) enrollment?<br>(132) What one thing, in particular, fits right in with the expectations you had of this school, even before child's name became a student? | (55) (b) What do you perceive as the schools' goals for students? |

V.

| PARENT | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| (134) How have the parent-teacher conferences been helpful to you? Specifically, what information do you receive and what do you typically do with the information? | (145) (d) How have the parent-teacher conferences been helpful to you? Specifically, what information do you receive and what do you typically do with the information? |
| (143) Tell me about one school experience that you noticed and thought was a particularly good learning experience for child's name. Why was it so beneficial? | (105) (a) What do you believe is a good school-related learning experience for a child? |
| (144) Tell me about one that you noticed and thought was not a particularly good experience for him (her). Why not? | (105) (b) What would you consider not a particularly good school-related learning experience? |
| (152) How do you think your child's teachers judge his(her) progress in school? For example, does the teacher primarily use tests, other teachers' opinions, achievement tests, past experiences with other children, or what, to make her judgments? | 141) (a) How do you evaluate student academic performance in the classroom? |
| (168) To your knowledge, how is discipline generally handled in your child's school? | (126) How are decisions regarding school policies made in your school and what are they? Specifically with reference to:<br>(d) Discipline Code (INTERVIEWER: PROBE IF IT IS ENFORCED ON A SCHOOL LEVEL OR A CLASSROOM LEVEL.)<br>Process:<br>Policy: |
| (169) Have you noticed any particular projects, assignments, or books from school that child's name especially likes?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(170) If Yes: List. | (106) (a) Are there any particular projects and assignments you do with the students that they particularly enjoy?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) Could you describe them? |
| (180) To your knowledge, what special ethnic or national holidays or commemorative events are celebrated in school? List. (PROBE: ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL ONES THAT THE SCHOOL CLOSES FOR?) | (118) What special ethnic or national holiday or commemorative events are celebrated in school? List. (INTERVIEWER: ARE THERE ANY SPECIAL ONES THAT THE SCHOOL CLOSES FOR?) |

| PARENT | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| V.<br>(181) Are there any that are not celebrated that you believe should be? List. | (119) Are there any events which might promote ethnic and racial identity that are not celebrated that you believe should be? List. |
| (182) Do you feel your child attends an ethnically and racially integrated school? Why or why not?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( ) | (115) Do you believe ___________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>Why? Why not? |
| (190) Have you personally requested curricular changes (additions, deletions) in the school?<br>Never ______ Once or twice _______ More than twice _____ | (127) (a) Have you personally requested curricular changes (additions, deletions) in the school? |
| (191) If yes: Why? What happened? Are you satisfied with the outcomes? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO HAVE ONE INCIDENT DESCRIBED IN DETAIL.) | (127) (b) If yes,<br>Why? What happened? Are you satisfied with the outcomes? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO HAVE ONE INCIDENT DESCRIBED IN DETAIL.) |
| ([illegible]) Does your school have computers which can be used as teaching and learning aids?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( ) | (138) (a) Does your school have computers which can be used as teaching and learning aids?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) |

Do you know if your child has used any of these other instructional aids in his(her) work?

194) Science laboratory Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

195) Self-paced learning programs Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

196) Curriculum-related trips extending over 2 days Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

197) Special classroom exhibits and displays Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

198) Audio-visula media: in-class use Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

199) Audio-visual media: take-home use Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

200) Modular learning packets Yes( ) No( ) Don't know( )

(214) What supplementary experiences do you provide for child's name outside to offset the weaknesses you perceive?

15)

hat plans are you and the school currently making, separately or jointly, for hild's name high school years? (INTERVIEWER: BE SURE TO GET PARENT'S VIEW OF AMILY AND SCHOOL ROLES IN PLANNING.)

216)

as your child's schooling experiences over the past years in any way changed our earlier (prior to school entry) opinion of what he (she) needs to get long in this world?

es, a great deal ( ) Yes, somewhat ( ) No, not at all ( )

17) If Yes: How has your opinion changed and can you tell me why it changed?

19) In what ways, if any, has knowledge of how child's name gets along in school influenced your opinion about his (her) probable occupational future?

(139) Do you use any of the following instructional aids in your classroom?

(a) science laboratory Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) self-paced learning programs Yes ( ) No ( )

(c) curriculum-related trip extending over 2 days Yes ( ) No ( )

(d) special classroom exhibits and displays Yes ( ) No ( )

(e) audio-visual media instruments Yes ( ) No ( )

(f) modular learning packets Yes ( ) No ( )

(89) How important is the child's home environment to his or her:

(a) academic performance in the classroom

(b) social behavior particularly peer group interactions

(67) (a) Where do students go after they have graduated from school's name? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR HIGH SCHOOL NAMES, COLLEGES.)

(b) FOR EIGHTH GRADE TEACHERS: Are there any special programs to prepare students for the transition from elementary to secondary school?

Yes ( ) No ( )

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| PARENT | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| (228) Do you and/or the other family members have much informal social contact with other families in your child's school?<br>Yes, considerable ( ) Yes, some ( ) Very little ( )<br>Almost none at all ( )<br>(229) What reasons would you give for your answer? | (121) (c) Do you believe that families of your students have much informal social contact with other families in your school?<br>(d) What reasons would you give for your answer? |
| (231) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in child's name's education? | (88) (b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in your students' education? |
| (23[illegible])<br>Has your child had any special problems in school because he(she) is a black American?<br>Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( ) | (110) What about your students who are Black Americans? Do they have any special problems in school because they are Black Americans?<br>Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( ) |
| (240) If Yes: Could you tell me about one such problem? | (111) Could you please tell me about them? |
| (241)<br>Do you think child's name will have any problems in school because he(she) is a black American?<br>Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) Don't know ( ) No ( ) | (112) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems later in school because they are Black Americans? |
| (250)<br>Where do you feel child's name should get information about black Americans | (114) (b) Where do you feel Black children should get information about Black Americans? |
| (252) Describe any special features of your family's overall educational program for child's name because he (she) is a black American child. | (89) (e) Describe any special features you think a Black family should include in their overall educational program because their child is a Black American. |
| (2[illegible]) Has the experience of an ethnically and racially diverse private school in any way influenced your opinion about quality education?<br>Yes, a great deal ( ) Yes, somewhat ( ) No, very little ( )<br>No, not at all ( )<br>(2[illegible]) Why do you hold this view? | (117) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?<br>A great deal ( ) Somewhat ( ) None ( )<br>Why do you hold this view? |

| PARENT | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| (255) What has been, in your view, the role of your child's school in helping him(her) to achieve a positive racial and ethnic identity? (PROBE: SHOULD IT HAVE A GREATER OR LESSER ROLE, WHY OR WHY NOT?) | (113) (a) Do you think it is important for a teacher to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity in his or her students?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) What about Black Americans?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(c) If yes, what things should be done to accomplish this? |
| (257) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children? Why or why not? | (116) Are you in favor of integrated schools for all children? Why? Why not? |

PARENT

TEACHER

16

## HOUSEHOLD INFORMATION

INTERVIEWER: This form is be completed before entering the home for the interview.

1. The housing unit most closely resembles:
   a. one-family house
   b. two-family house
   c. three family house or apt.
   d. four-family house or apt.
   e. building with 5 to 9 apartments
   f. building with 10 to 19 apartments
   g. building with 20 to 49 apartments
   h. building with 50 or more apartments

2. Property upon which the housing unit is located is:
   a. well maintained
   b. in need of repair
   c. could not determine

3. Does the building containing this housing unit also contain space for non-residential purposes, such as a store,office, warehouse, etc.?
   a. yes
   b. no

4. The street (one block, both sides) on which the housing unit is located is:
   a. residential only
   b. residential with one or two stores only
   c. commercial with three or more stores
   d. other

5. Racial composition of street ( one block both sides) on which the housing unit is located is:
   a. all White
   b. mostly White
   c. about half White, half Black
   d. mostly Black
   e. all Black
   f. Other (e.g., mostly Latino, Asian)
   g. Could not determine

(4) Mrs./Mr. ________________, where do you live? Could you describe your housing for me? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ONE FAMILY HOUSE, PRIMARILY RESIDENTIAL AREA, RACIAL COMPOSITION)

**Newcomers: Blacks In Private Schools**
**(NIE Research Project)**
Diana T. Slaughter, Ph.D. and Barbara L. Schneider, Ph.D.
School of Education
Northwestern University

## COMPARABILITY: ADMINISTRATOR AND ADMISSIONS INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

## ADMINISTRATOR

# I.

(2) (a) Mr./Mrs. ____________, how long have you been headmaster/principal of ________________ School?

(b) What position did you hold before becoming headmaster/principal?

(3) From what institution have you received your degrees? When was that, and what were your major areas of specialization?

| | Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | | |
| 2. | | | | |
| 3. | | | | |
| 4. | | | | |
| 5. | | | | |

(7) What made you interested in becoming an administrator in a private school?

(8) How were you recruited for this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE IF AN OPEN OR CLOSED PROCESS, WHERE WAS THE POSITION ADVERTISED?)

## ADMISSIONS

(1) Mr./Mrs. ________, How long have you been in the role of admissions officer at __________ School?

Number of years _______

(2) (a) What position did you hold before assuming this role?

(3) From what institutions did you receive your degrees?

When was that?

What were your major areas of specialization?

| Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

(4) What made you interested in assuming an administrative role in the admissions process in a private school?

(5) How were you recruited for this position?

| ADMINISTRATOR | ADMISSIONS |
|---|---|
| (II) (b) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend outside of school on administrative related activities?<br>(1) number of hours ______<br>(2) number of hours in a typical week ______<br>(c) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend in school on these administrative related activities?<br>(1) number of hours ______<br>(2) number of hours in a typical week ______ | (7) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend on these job-related activities?<br>(a) Number of hours per day ______<br>(b) Number of hours in a typical week ______ |
| (12) What makes you want to continue to be the headmaster in this school? Is it the salary?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If no, what is it? | (8) What makes you want to continue in your role as admissions officer? |
| II. (13) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in this school? | (9) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for children? |
| (14) How is this view of education reflected in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS) | (10) How is this view of education reflected in the admissions process? |
| (17) What are the goals of the school today? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ACADEMIC STANDARDS, SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACEMENTS AFTER GRADUATION) | (11) What do you perceive as the goals of the school today? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ACADEMIC STANDARDS, SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACEMENTS, ETC.) |
| (18) Do the faculty and staff share your views on school goals? Are these goals shared among the staff? | (12) Are these goals shared among the staff? |
| III. (41) Do you think it is important for the school to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity for their students?<br>If yes, how should the school accomplish this? | (60) (a) Do you think it is important for the school to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity for the students?<br>Yes ______ No ______<br>(c) If yes, what things do you do to accomplish this? |

## ADMINISTRATOR

I. (6) Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| Child | Relation to child (Natural or step parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |
| | | | |

(7) What made you interested in becoming an administrator in a private school?

(8) How were you recruited for this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE IF AN OPEN OR CLOSED PROCESS, WHERE WAS THE POSITION ADVERTISED?)

(9) (a) Have you always taught in private schools?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(b) If yes, what type of private schools did you teach in? (INTERVIEWER: FOR SIZE OF SCHOOL, LOCATION AND EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS)

(10) How does this school compare to other schools you have administered or taught in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS, SIZE, INCOME LEVEL OF PARENTS, GRADE LEVELS, ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUPS, DISTANCES TRAVELED TO SCHOOL)

## TEACHER

(13) Do you have any children?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(INTERVIEWER: IF YES, RECORD NUMBER OF CHILDREN, THEIR AGES AND SEX)

| Child | Relation to Child (Natural or step parent) | Child's Age | Child's Sex |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | | | |
| 2. | | | |
| 3. | | | |
| 4. | | | |
| 5. | | | |

(33) What made you interested in teaching in private schools?

(35) How were you recruited for this school?

(32) Have you always taught in private schools?

Yes ( ) No ( )

(a) If yes, what type of private schools did you teach in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR SIZE OF SCHOOL, LOCATION AND EDUCATIONAL EMPHASIS.)

(36) How does this school compare to other schools you have taught in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS, SIZE, INCOME LEVEL OF PARENTS, GRADE LEVELS, ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUPS, DISTANCES TRAVELED TO SCHOOL.)

| ADMINISTRATOR | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| I.<br>(11) (b) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend outside of school on administrative related activities?<br>(1) number of hours ______<br>(2) number of hours in a typical week ______<br>(c) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend in school on these administrative related activities?<br>(1) number of hours ______<br>(2) number of hours in a typical week ______ | (29) (a) On a typical working day, how many hours do you spend outside of school on teaching related activities?<br>(1) Number of hours ______<br>(2) In a typical week?<br>Number of hours ______<br>(b) In a typical working day, how many hours do you spend in school on teaching related activities?<br>(1) Number of hours ______<br>(2) In a typical week?<br>Number of hours ______ |
| (12) What makes you want to continue to be the headmaster in this school? Is it the salary?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If no, what is it? | (30) What keeps you teaching in this school?<br>Is it the salary?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If no, what is it? |
| II.<br>(13) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in this school? | (51) What do you think are the essential elements of a quality education for the children in your classroom? |
| (14) How is this view of education reflected in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS) | (52) How is this view of education reflected in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BOTH POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS.) |
| (15) Could you tell us something about the history of ________ School? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR WHEN IT WAS FOUNDED, ITS ORIGINAL EDUCATIONAL GOALS. DID THESE GOALS CHANGE OVER TIME? WHY?) | (53) Every school has a history, do you know how your school was founded? Can you tell me a little bit about its history? |
| (16) What traditions and rituals has the school maintained from its historical past? Why do you think these traditions have remained? | (54) (a) What traditions, rituals and so on, has the school maintained from its historical past?<br>(b) Why do you think these traditions have remained? |

| ADMINISTRATOR | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| II.<br>(17) What are the goals of the school today? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR ACADEMIC STANDARDS, SECONDARY SCHOOL PLACEMENTS AFTER GRADUATION) | (55) (a) What do you perceive as the goals of your school? (i.e., what the administrators want for the school).<br>(b) What do you perceive as the schools' goals for students? |
| (18) Do the faculty and staff share your views on school goals? Are these goals shared among the staff? | (65) (a) Do your colleagues share your views on school goals?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) Do they all use similar methods to achieve these goals? |
| (19) (a) Do you have any special expectation for students that are new to the school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BLACK STUDENTS IN PARTICULAR, THEIR ACADEMIC AS WELL AS SOCIAL NEEDS)<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) What are they? | (63) (a) Do you have any special expectations for students that are "new to the school"? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BLACK STUDENTS IN PARTICULAR: THEIR ACADEMIC AS WELL AS SOCIAL NEEDS.)<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) What are they? |
| (20) (a) What values of your own do you try to reinforce in the school?<br>(b) Do you feel your students' parents share your values? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BLACK STUDENTS) | (64) (a) What values of your own do you try to reinforce in the classroom?<br>(c) Do you feel your students' parents share your values? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR BLACK STUDENTS.) |
| III.<br>(21) What are the policy, academic and social committees which parents, teachers and students can belong to in this school? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR FUNCTIONS OF COMMITTEES, HOW PEOPLE ARE ENCOURAGED TO JOIN)<br>(a) Policy Committees<br>Participants<br>Function<br>(b) Social Committees<br>Participants<br>Function | (70) (a) Are there any standing policy committees which teachers belong to?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) Could you please list them for me?<br>(c) Are parents encouraged to belong to these committees?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(71) What is the function of these committees?<br>(73) Are there any committees in the school which only parents are encouraged to participate in? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR NAME OF COMMITTEE AND FUNCTION.)<br>(74) Are there any ad hoc faculty groups formed to deal with specific issues?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Could you name them? |

| ADMINISTRATOR | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| **III.**<br>(22) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) If yes,<br>a great deal ( ) sometimes ( ) hardly at all ( )<br>(c) Why? Why not? | (77) (a) Do parents in this school do volunteer work for the school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(b) If yes,<br>a great deal ( ) sometimes ( )<br>hardly at all ( ) never ( ) |
| (23) What types of school-related activities are both parents and teachers involved in, such as fund-raising carnivals, special music or dance programs? | (79) (a) What other types of school-related activities are both parents and teachers involved in, such as fund raising carnivals, special music or dance programs? |
| (24) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in this school?<br>very close ( ) close ( ) somewhat close ( )<br>not close ( ) don't know ( ) | (81) How would you describe the relations between parents and teachers in this school?<br>Very close ( ) Somewhat close ( ) Close ( )<br>Not Close ( ) Don't know ( ) |
| (25) Are parents encouraged to spend time in school? In what capacity? | (83) Are parents encouraged to spend time observing in classrooms?<br>Frequently ( ) Sometimes ( )<br>Hardly ever ( ) Not at all ( ) |
| (26) Would you say that parents in this school:<br>spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting ( )<br>spend some time ( )<br>spend little time ( )<br>spend no time ( )<br>don't know ( ) | (82) Would you say that parents in this school:<br>(a) spend a lot of time networking and sharing school experiences by phone, visiting ( )<br>(b) spend some time ( )<br>(c) spend little time ( )<br>(d) spend no time ( )<br>(e) don't know ( ) |

III.

| ADMINISTRATOR | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| (27) Do you receive calls from parents? What, typically, is the nature of these calls? | (85) (a) Have you received any calls from parents?<br>Frequently ( ) Sometimes ( )<br>Hardly ever ( ) Not at all ( ) |
| (28) Under what circumstances do you contact parents? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE FOR SPECIFICS SUCH AS STUDENT BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS, FUND RAISING ACTIVITIES) | (86) Are you encouraged to call parents by phone regarding a student's behavior?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(87) (a) Have you made any calls this year?<br>Quite a few ( ) Some ( ) None ( )<br>(b) If applicable, could you tell me something about the nature of these calls? |
| (29) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parent's job in helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER ADMINISTRATOR SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE)<br>(b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in your students' education? | (88) (a) What do you see as the difference between the teacher's job and the parents' job as far as helping children to learn? (INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE WHETHER TEACHER SEES ROLES AS OVERLAPPING OR SEPARATE.)<br>(b) Very generally, what do you think is the role of the home in your students' education? |
| (30) How important is the child's home environment to his or her:<br>(a) academic performance in the classroom?<br>(b) social behavior particularly in regard to peer group interactions?<br>(c) How important is the home environment to a minority child's academic performance?<br>(d) How important is the home environment to a Black child's academic performance?<br>(e) Describe any special features you think a Black family should include in its overall educational program because its child is a Black American. | (89) How important is the child's home environment to his or her:<br>(a) academic performance in the classroom<br>(b) social behavior particularly peer group interactions<br>(c) How important is the home environment to a minority child's academic performance?<br>(d) How important is the home environment to a Black child's academic performance?<br>(e) Describe any special features you think a Black family should include in their overall educational program because their child is a Black American. |

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| ADMINISTRATOR | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| III.<br>(31) (a) Are the parents supportive of you in your role as headmaster/principal? Why? Why not? | (98) Are the parents very supportive of the headmaster (principal)?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not |
| (34) How would you characterize the ideal headmaster/principal? | (99) How would you characterize the ideal headmaster (principal)? |
| (37) Do you believe there is an esprit de corps among the faculty?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? | (93)(b) Do you believe there is an esprit de corps among the faculty?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? |
| (38) Do you feel that any of your minority students have any special problems in school because they are minority students?<br>Yes ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>If yes, could you tell me about them? | (108) Do you feel that any of your minority students have any special problems in school because they are minority students?<br>Yes ( ) Yes, a few ( )<br>No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>(109) If yes, could you tell me about them? |
| (39) What about your students who are Black Americans? Do they have any special problems in school because they are Black Americans?<br>Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( )<br>Could you tell me about them? | (110) What about your students who are Black Americans? Do they have any special problems in school because they are Black Americans?<br>Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( )<br>(111) Could you please tell me about them? |
| (40) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems later in school because they are Black Americans? | (112) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems later in school because they are Black Americans? |
| (41) Do you think it is important for the school to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity for their students?<br>If yes, how should the school accomplish this? | (113) (a) Do you think it is important for a teacher to develop a positive ethnic and racial identity in his or her students?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>(c) If yes, what things should be done to accomplish this? |

| ADMINISTRATOR | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| III. | |
| (42) Do you believe __________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school? Why? Why not? | (115) Do you believe __________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school?<br>Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )<br>Why? Why not? |
| (43) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?<br>a great deal ( ) some ( ) none ( )<br>Why do you hold this view? | (117) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?<br>A great deal ( ) Somewhat ( ) None ( )<br>Why do you hold this view? |
| (44) Do you believe that __________ is a neighborhood school?<br>Why? Why not?<br>What effect does this have on the social-experiences of the children in the school? | (121) (a) Do you believe that __________ is a neighborhood school?<br>Why? Why not?<br>(b) What effect does this have on the social experiences of the children in the school? |
| (45) (a) How important is it to have a sense of community within the school?<br>(b) If applicable, how does this school do this? | (122) How important is it to have a "sense of community" within a school?<br>Why? Why not?<br>(123) If applicable, how does the school do this? |
| (46) Do you think __________ School is a good learning environment for all children?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? | (125) Do you think __________ School is a good learning environment for all children?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>Why? Why not? |

## ADMINISTRATOR

**IV.**

(47) How are decisions regarding school policies made in your school? Specifically with reference to:

(a) Admission criteria

Process

Policy

(b) Student grade placement

Process

Policy

(c) Curriculum (textbook selection, units of study)

Process

Policy

(d) Discipline code (INTERVIEWER: PROBE IF IT IS ENFORCED ON A SCHOOL LEVEL OR A CLASSROOM LEVEL)

Process

Policy

## TEACHER

(126) How are decisions regarding school policies made in your school and what are they? Specifically with reference to:

(a) Admission policies (criteria)

Process:

Policy:

(b) Student grade placement

Process:

Policy:

(c) Curriculum (textbook selection, units of study)

Process:

Policy:

(d) Discipline Code (INTERVIEWER: PROBE IF IT IS ENFORCED ON A SCHOOL LEVEL OR A CLASSROOM LEVEL.)

Process:

Policy:

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| ADMINISTRATOR | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| IV. | |
| (47) (e) Homework | (126) (e) Homework assignments |
| Process | Process: |
| Policy | Policy: |
| (f) Student evaluation | (f) Student evaluations |
| Process | Process: |
| Policy | Policy: |
| (g) Teacher evaluations | (g) Teacher evaluations |
| Process | Process: |
| Policy | Policy: |
| (h) Administrator evaluations | |
| Process | |
| Policy | |
| (51) How do you evaluate teacher performance? What incentives are used for increasing teacher effectiveness? | (147) (a) How is your teaching performance evaluated? |
| | (b) Upon what criteria have your evaluations been based? |

### COMPARABILITY: PARENT AND TEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

| PARENT | TEACHER |
|---|---|
| I. PREVIOUS INTERVIEW EXPERIENCE<br>(1) Have you ever been interviewed in your home about any of your children?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If Yes: When? Why were you interviewed at that time?<br>(INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE IF THIS MOTHER HAS BEEN A PART OF ANY OTHER RESEARCH STUDY IN THE PAST SEVEN YEARS, AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES.) | I. PREVIOUS INTERVIEW EXPERIENCE<br>(1) Have you ever been interviewed about your teaching experiences?<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If yes: When? Why were you interviewed at that time?<br>(INTERVIEWER: PROBE TO DETERMINE IF THIS TEACHER HAS BEEN A PART OF ANY OTHER RESEARCH STUDY OR CONDUCTED A STUDY IN THE PAST SEVEN YEARS, AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES.) |
| I.<br>GENERAL INFORMATION ON FAMILY COMPOSITION, OCCUPATION, EDUCATION, INCOME, PHYSICAL HEALTH AND NEIGHBORHOOD.<br>(2)<br>Are you the one woman primarily responsible for child's name 's care since his (her) birth? (ASK "ARE YOU THE ONE PERSON..." IF FATHER IS THE RESPONDENT.)<br>Yes ( ) No ( )<br>If No: Explain. | (2) INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX<br>Female ( ) Male ( ) |

Newcomers: Blacks in Private Schools (NIE Research Project)
Diana T. Slaughter, Ph.D. and Barbara Schneider, Ph.D.
School of Education
Northwestern University

COMPARABILITY: ADMINISTRATOR AND TEACHER INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

## ADMINISTRATOR

I.

(1) (a) (INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX)

Female ( ) Male ( )

(b) (INTERVIEWER: RECORD ETHNIC GROUP)

Black ( )
Hispanic ( )
Asian-American ( )
Native American ( )
White ( )
Other ( )

(3) From what institution have you received your degrees? When was that, and what were your major areas of specialization?

| | Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 2. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 3. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 4. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 5. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |

(4) What are your educational plans for your self now?

(5) What is your year of birth?

## TEACHER

(2) INTERVIEWER: RECORD SEX

Female ( ) Male ( )

(3) INTERVIEWER: RECORD ETHNIC GROUP

Black ( )
Hispanic ( )
Asian-American ( )
Native American ( )
White ( )
Other ( )

(6) (a) Mrs./Mr. ______________, we would like to know from what institutions you have received your degrees, when, and major areas of specialization.

| | Name of Institution | Degree | Year of Graduation | Major |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 2. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 3. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 4. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |
| 5. | ______________ | ______ | ______ | ______ |

(6) (b) What are your educational plans for yourself now?

(10) What is your year of birth?

| ADMINISTRATOR | ADMISSIONS |
|---|---|
| (42) Do you believe __________ is an ethnically and racially integrated school? Why? Why not? | (62) Do you believe __________ is an ethnically and and racially integrated school?<br>Yes ______ No ______<br>Why? Why not? |
| (43) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the quality of education?<br>a great deal ( ) some ( ) none ( )<br>Why do you hold this view? | (64) What effect does attending an ethnically and racially diverse school have on the qualityi of education?<br>______ a great deal<br>______ some<br>______ none<br>Why do you hold this view? |
| (44) Do you believe that __________ is a neighborhood school?<br>Why? Why not? | (65) Do you believe that __________ is a neighborhood school?<br>Why? Why not? |
| (45) (a) How important is it to have a sense of community within the school?<br>(b) If applicable, how does this school do this? | (66) Does the school try to build a sense of community within the school?<br>Yes ______ No ______<br>How does the school do this?<br>(67) How important is it to have a "sense of community" within a school?<br>Why? Why not? |
| (39) What about your students who are Black Americans? Do they have any special problems in school because they are Black Americans?<br>Yes, many ( ) Yes, a few ( ) No ( )<br>Could you tell me about them?<br>(40) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems later in school because they are Black Americans? | (61) Do you think that Black Americans will have any problems now or later in school because they are Black Americans? |

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